

The Acquisition of Books by  
Chetham's Library, 1655–1700

# Library of the Written Word

volume 16

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## The Handpress World

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# The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655 – 1700

*by*  
Matthew Yeo



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*On the Cover:* Presses U and W, Chetham's Library. Photo by Fergus Wilde. Reproduced with grateful thanks to Chetham's Library.

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*For E.L.P.*



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MGY

Godalming, Surrey

January 2011

## ABBREVIATIONS

Full details of these works are given in the Bibliography.

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Accessions         | Chetham's Library Accessions Register, Mun. A.5.3.   |
| Book Use           | Bradin Cormack & Carla Mazzio, <i>Book Use, Book Theory, 1500–1700</i> .                           |
| Bury Classis       | William Shaw, <i>Minutes of Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1646–1660</i> .                             |
| CHBB III / IV      | <i>Cambridge History of the Book in Britain</i> , Vols III and IV.                                 |
| CHL II             | <i>Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain &amp; Ireland</i> , Vol. II.                          |
| Christie           | Richard Christie, <i>The Old School and Church Libraries of Manchester</i> .                       |
| Emmanuel College   | Sargent Bush and Eric Rasmussen, <i>Emmanuel College Library</i> .                                 |
| ESTC               | <i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> [ <a href="http://www.estc.bl.uk">http://www.estc.bl.uk</a> ] |
| Fellows            | Raines and Sutton, <i>The Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester</i> .                     |
| Hooke              | Robert Hooke, <i>The Diary of Robert Hooke</i> .   |
| Guscott            | Stephen Guscott, <i>Humphrey Chetham 1580–1653</i> .   |
| HUO IV             | Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), <i>History of the University of Oxford</i> Vol. IV.                         |
| Invoices           | Chetham's Library Invoices Book, Mun. A.5.   |
| Jesus College      | Cyril Fordyce, <i>Library of Jesus College Oxford</i> .  |
| Locke              | John Locke, <i>The Correspondence of John Locke</i> .  |
| Manchester Classis | <i>Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646–1660</i> .                                  |
| ODNB               | Colin Matthew (ed.) <i>New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> .                           |
| Portledge Papers   | Richard Lapthorne, <i>Portledge Papers</i> .   |
| Sale Catalogue     | Christie's, <i>Important Books from Chetham's Library, Manchester</i> .                            |

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Trinity College | Philip Gaskell, <i>Trinity College Library: The First 150 Years</i> .       |
| Will            | <i>The Last Will of Humphrey Chetham</i> .                                  |
| Worthington     | John Worthington, <i>Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington</i> . |

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## FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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## CITATIONS AND NAMES

The spellings of the names of the protagonists in the Library's early history are inconsistent. For the sake of clarity and consistency, unless quoting from sources or statements of publication, I have followed the names as they appear in the *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, viz. Robert Littlebury, Laurence Sadler, John Durie, Richard Johnson, John Tilsley and Richard Hollinworth. The names of authors cited are as they appear in the Library of Congress authority fields.

Given the length of many of the works cited, only abbreviated short-titles are used. Places of publication are as they appear on the title page, and statements of publishers' names and geographical locations have been edited for concision.

The Invoices and Registers' original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation have been retained. For the sake of clarity and comprehensibility, contractions and abbreviations of easily identified words and phrases have been silently filled out. The long 's', ('ſ') has been silently replaced in favour of the modern form, 's'.

The acquisitions have been arranged by New Style dates. The calendar year is deemed to have started on 1 January, not Lady Day on 25 March, so the dates of acquisitions in January, February and early March (of which there are few) have been silently corrected to New Style dates.



## CHAPTER I

### THE FOUNDATION OF CHETHAM'S LIBRARY

*'As for Manchester... there is a fair library of books'*<sup>1</sup>

It is true that a fair Librarie, is not onely an ornament and credit to the place where it is; but a useful commoditie by itself to the publick; yet in effect it is no more than a Dead Bodie as now it is constituted, in comparison of what it might bee, if it were animated with a publick Spirit to keep and use it, and ordered as it might bee for publick Service.<sup>2</sup>

Chetham's Library was founded at a time when libraries were at the forefront of many scholars' minds.<sup>3</sup> The diarist and writer John Evelyn's 'Method for a Library' projected seventeenth-century models of rationality onto the organisation of an ideal library.<sup>4</sup> Although the connection is coincidental, the quotation above from the *Reformed Librarie-Keeper* is all the more pertinent to the study of Chetham's Library because it was published by Robert Littlebury, the publisher and bookseller who supplied books to the Library between 1655 and the end of the seventeenth century. *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper* argued that libraries were objects that had to be treated as active beings. Books had to be arranged on the shelves in order to facilitate an easy transition from one book to another. Durie captured the importance of the usefulness of books to early modern readers. Libraries were not just beautiful additions to houses or communities, but had to provide a service. Durie lamented the reduction of librarianship to mere conservation, and he looked back to an earlier age of activist Protestant librarianship, in which the library was a knowledge factory, exemplified by the librarian and controversialist Thomas James.<sup>5</sup> And, as the author Geoffrey Whitney reminded the dean of Ely Sir Andrew Perne

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<sup>1</sup> Worthington, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> John Durie, *The Reformed-School And the Reformed Librarie-Keeper* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1651).

<sup>3</sup> Scott Mandelbrote, *'Converse with Books': scientific and medical libraries in the British Isles, c.1640–c.1750* (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut, 2005), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> John Evelyn, *Method for a Library According to the Intellectual Powers*, British Library MS Add. 7863.

<sup>5</sup> R. Julian Roberts, 'James, Thomas (1572/3–1629)', ODNB.



Figure 1: Mary Chapel Wing, Chetham's Library.

in the 1586 work *A Choice of Emblems*, books in libraries and collections had to be *used* rather than simply read:

The volumes great, who so doth still peruse,  
And dailie turnes, and gazeth on the same,  
If that the fruicte thereof, he do not use,  
He reapes but toile, and never gaineth fame:  
First reade, then marke, then practise that is good,  
For without use, we drinke but LETHE flood.<sup>6</sup>

The poem suggests that not all of the purposes to which books can be put should be described as reading.<sup>7</sup> At Chetham's Library in the seventeenth century, many books were read selectively. These works, such as biblical concordances and harmonies, formed a large part of the Library's earliest purchases, intended to combat the 'information overload' generated by the fruits of the printing press.<sup>8</sup> The scholarly value of these books came not from the persuasiveness of their arguments. Instead, it was derived from the capaciousness of the indexes and from

<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leyden: Christopher Plantyn, 1586), f. 170r.

<sup>7</sup> William H. Sherman, *Used Books* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), xii.

<sup>8</sup> Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload Ca. 1550–1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64 (2003), p. 18.

readers' strategies to wade through the huge number of texts to be read. To employ the work on reader-response theory developed by Wolfgang Iser, these were books that indicated that the reader was an active and creative participant in the creation of meaning from the text.<sup>9</sup> Stephen Orgel rightly points out that, 'we go to them [reference works] to find primarily what we are looking for'. As Orgel continues, 'the coherence in this case is not the book's, but the reader's'.<sup>10</sup> Early modern readers acknowledged the fact that books were for use, and increasingly, historians of the early modern period recognise it too.

Readers in libraries acknowledge that libraries have to be organised to make them useful rather than just repositories of books. They provide 'standards of coherence' by which readers understand the texts they read, which include catalogues, shelving and practices of storage and retrieval.<sup>11</sup> The 'intelligencer' Samuel Hartlib made efforts in the seventeenth century to create coherent bodies of knowledge, and corresponded with John Worthington, a regular visitor to Chetham's Library, to discuss how to perfect catalogues and indexes for books in libraries.<sup>12</sup> For Hartlib, a librarian, and particularly one responsible for a scientific library, had to become 'a factor and trader for helpees to learning, a treasurer to keep them and a dispenser to apply them to use, or see them well used, or at least not abused'.<sup>13</sup>

Libraries and librarians were important elements in the early modern trade in books and ideas. John Durie and his French librarian counterpart Gabriel Naudé acknowledged that librarians had a special responsibility to be actively aware of the fruits of the printing press and book trade:

we neglect nothing which is worth the reckoning, and which may be of use, be it either to ourselves or others; such as are libels, placarts, theses, fragments, proofs, and the like...<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Wolfgang Iser, 'Interaction Between Text and Reader', in Susan Suleiman and Inge Wimmers (eds.), *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Orgel, 'Afterword', in Jennifer Lotte Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 285.

<sup>11</sup> Paul van den Broek *et al*, 'The Effects of Readers' Goals on Inference Generation and Memory for Texts', *Memory & Cognition*, 29 (2001), p. 1082.

<sup>12</sup> Worthington, p. 236.

<sup>13</sup> George Turnbull, *Hartlib, Durie and Comenius* (Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1947), p. 257; Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 101.

<sup>14</sup> Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library* (London: G. Bedel and T. Collins, 1661), p. 57.

However, there is a real danger in the inference that libraries simply store the products of the book trade. They are far more than simply the material residues of previous intellectual cultures. Sears Jayne's claim that they are 'the shortest and most accurate route to knowledge of what was known in Renaissance England about any subject' is at best reductive.<sup>15</sup> Jayne's assessment of the role of the library in early modern England starts and stops at the point at which a book reached the library shelf. The study of early modern libraries in fact works outwards from a Library's acquisition and ownership of a book, through a multitude of issues around intellectual content, material forms and the book trade, to the reading and employment of texts in the early modern period.

### *The Creation of a Public Library*

Scholars and enthusiasts alike would be only too pleased to be in the position in which Humphrey Chetham's executors found themselves in late 1653. Chetham, one of Manchester's wealthiest merchants and notables, had bequeathed £1,000 in cash, and after other charitable donations, the remainder of his estate, for the foundation of a school and a 'public' library. Between 1655 and 1700, it acquired some 3,000 books, globes, maps, mathematical instruments and museum curiosities.<sup>16</sup> The use of the word 'public' in Chetham's inevitably draws in discussions of the development of the 'public sphere' in the latter part of the seventeenth century. 'Public library', however, did not prefigure the creation of an eighteenth, or even seventeenth-century 'public sphere'. Chetham did not see the creation of a library in what might be described as a Habermasian sense, calling into existence an abstract referent of public interest to justify the creation of the institution in Manchester.<sup>17</sup> While Chetham's ambition was certainly to promote learning and reconciliation after the English Civil War, his

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<sup>15</sup> Sears Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Godalming: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1983), p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Will*, pp. 228–61.

<sup>17</sup> James Gordon Finlayson, *Habermas: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 8; George Southcombe and Grant Tapsell, *Restoration Politics, Religion and Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010), p. 126.



understanding of 'public' was part of public service, something to which Samuel Hartlib alluded in his *Office of Address*. As Elizabeth Yale noted of early modern naturalists and their efforts to create archives,

their efforts signalled a growing faith in the power of public institutions to preserve cultural patrimony and memory through changes of time, war, government, and religion.<sup>18</sup>

The 'growing faith in the power of public institutions' noted here extended into intellectual life. As Ann Blair identifies in her recent book on 'information overload' in the early modern period, anxiety about the loss of ancient learning and a desire to avoid further destruction of knowledge culminated in the growth of repositories of knowledge and techniques to manage the information they stored:

Printing, along with improvements in postal systems, likely heightened the sense that scholars had of working toward the common good of an international Republic of Letters, notably through the formal and informal circulation of information...the motivation to form large collections of textual information stimulated the refinement of old techniques and the development of new ones both in manuscript and print.<sup>19</sup>

The provision of a repository of knowledge and its public use was particularly important for Chetham in the aftermath of the English Civil War: following Paul Kaufman's definition, 'public' libraries in the early modern period were institutions supported by some secular body for the use of any responsible person, as distinct from the 'private' libraries in universities and colleges.<sup>20</sup> For Chetham and the Library trustees, 'public' was understood to mean that any reader was allowed into the Library without hindrance or charge, although the scholarly nature of the book meant that the trustees' definition of public did not extend as far as making all of the Library's acquisitions available to the populace of the town.

---

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Yale, 'With Slips and Scraps: How Early Modern Naturalists Invented the Archive', *Book History*, 12 (2009), p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 64.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Kelly, *Early Public Libraries: A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain Before 1850* (London: Library Association, 1966), p. 13; Paul Kaufman, 'The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 57 (1967), p. 38.

Many early modern libraries were built upon the private collections of individuals or with alumni donations.<sup>21</sup> The Oxford and Cambridge college libraries from which the Library trustees drew their ideas were forced by a shortage of money to rely on alumni donations for stock. Chetham's Library was an opportunity to create a scholarly library *ab initio* as part of the growing faith in the power of institutions to preserve and encourage patrimony and institutional memory. The extensive financial resources available to the trustees for the purchase of books from Britain and Europe enabled them to create what is today one of the finest collections of early modern printed books, broadsides and pamphlets in the world. Its acquisitions comprise the core texts of early modern scholarship and reflect the intellectual and book trade history of the period. Inevitably, the scholarly contents of Chetham's Library precluded readers without a considerable degree of education, but its public function differentiated it from contemporary college, university and professional libraries, because college libraries were often restricted to the fellows of colleges or more senior students.<sup>22</sup> During the seventeenth century, Chetham's Library was better stocked than many college and university libraries, and so was used by a number of undergraduates preparing for their university examinations, including Nathaniel Baxter, who applied unsuccessfully to become Chetham's Librarian in 1657.<sup>23</sup>

By way of nomenclature, the verb 'acquire' and the noun 'acquisition' stand in place of any other term to describe books and other items taken into the Library's hands between 1655 and 1700. By no means were all of the materials that came into the Library selected by Humphrey Chetham's trustees, and not all items were printed titles. There were books passed on by booksellers to rid themselves of unsold stock, and some books and manuscripts were unsolicited gifts. 'Deliveries' does not cover titles given by hand by the Library's readers, so the term *acquisitions* seems most appropriate to describe the books

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<sup>21</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 320.

<sup>22</sup> Falconer Madan, 'The Library of Brasenose College, Oxford', *Notes and Queries*, 6 (1880), pp. 321–22.

<sup>23</sup> Alfred Mumford, *The Manchester Grammar School, 1515–1915: a regional study of the advancement of learning in Manchester since the Reformation* (London: Longmans Green, 1919), p. 81.

and other items in the Library. Similarly, the word 'title' is employed to describe a book, or collection of books under one entry in the Library's manuscript Accessions Register, and 'volume' is used for individual books in a set under one title.

In his magisterial collection of essays entitled 'The Library at Night', Alberto Manguel meditates on the role of chance in the history of libraries:

A library is not only a place of order and chaos; it is also the realm of chance. Books, even after they have been given a shelf and a number, retain a mobility of their own.<sup>24</sup>

The survival of Chetham's Library to the twenty-first century was the result of Humphrey Chetham's desire for his charitable donations not to go the way of many other previous libraries in the town of Manchester. Yet many books came into Chetham's Library as the result of chance, misfortune or a previous owner's death. That some books proved their usefulness in later years was the result of the workings of chance. This book is an exploration of why, how and through whom such an extraordinary library was stocked with material, from its inception to the end of the seventeenth century. Crucially, the analysis of the Library's early history is more than an antiquarian study of its early records. As an institution, Chetham's Library testifies to the growing desire in the early modern period to preserve bodies of knowledge and to make useful in perpetuity. Moreover, the study of the creation of Chetham's Library offers a unique and vivid picture of the trade in books and ideas between London and the provinces and of textual reception in the period. Informed as much by modern debates about the history of the book, the history of reading and textual reception as by traditional analytical bibliography, the following section addresses the structure of the book and how it builds to its wider conclusions. Properly explored, the evidence of the acquisitions revises and refines existing analyses of the workings of the British and Continental trade in new and second-hand books, looking at the multiple ways in which early modern readers bought and read texts, and the complex and dynamic relationships between writers, publishers and readers in any historical period.

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<sup>24</sup> Alberto Manguel, 'The Library as Chance' in Alberto Manguel, *The Library at Night* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 163.

*If Books be the Spectacles we see through to all Learning*

If Books be the Spectacles we see through to all Learning, let's then use them so; branch them forth, and spread their Knowledge.<sup>25</sup>

Margaret Schotte's work on the Newcastle bookseller William London showed how he regarded books as scientific tools in the noble project of spreading wisdom.<sup>26</sup> London sold by catalogue, a relatively new way for booksellers to organise and sell their stock. London's 1657 catalogue was an idealised concatenation of books on sale in his shop, books he had sold in the past and books he wanted to sell in the future.<sup>27</sup> His catalogue, which provided the full names of each title, was a vivid example of where the book trade and librarianship coincided: what a bookseller would sell to his customers if the stock were available and the resources unlimited. Moreover, London's statement about using books as 'spectacles...to all learning' sets out the method employed in this book: how and why early modern readers went about choosing the books they did, the role of the book trade in the distribution and dissemination of knowledge, and how the study of a collection of books can open up the connections between intellectual culture, material culture and readership in the early modern period. It begins with a discussion of the foundation of the Library, and works outwards to a number of increasingly complex discussions about the links between the distribution and reception of books, manuscripts and scientific instruments in the early modern period.

The book is divided into seven chapters, of which this Introduction is the first. The second chapter provides the historical background to the creation of the Library through the bequest of Humphrey Chetham. It discusses the major figures in the acquisition of books by and for the Library between 1655 and 1700, and outlines the basic statistical framework and qualitative methods for the study of the Library's acquisitions as a whole. In particular, it emphasises the various implications of taking into account the use of books for students of the acquisition and reception of texts in the early modern period at

<sup>25</sup> William London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (London: n.p., 1657) f. F3.

<sup>26</sup> Margaret Schotte, "Books for the Use of the Learned and Studious": William London's Catalogue of Most Vendible Books, *Book History*, 11 (2008), p. 48.

<sup>27</sup> Archer Taylor, *Book Catalogues: their Varieties and Uses* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1986), p. 72.

Chetham's Library, and demonstrates how the concept of the 'usefulness' of texts shapes the book as a whole.

The third chapter employs the evidence of the Library's Accessions Register, the extant invoices and extant correspondence to explore the Library's forty-year business relationship with Robert Littlebury, the second-hand bookseller and Haberdasher of the 'Unicorn in Little Britain'.<sup>28</sup> Littlebury's work for Chetham's Library provides the historical timeframe around which this book is organised. As well as being the year of the foundation of the Library, 1655 was the beginning of Littlebury's career. His death in 1695 and the Library's increasing reliance on Manchester booksellers by 1700 provide a natural endpoint to the enquiry. Drawing on theoretical models of 'communications circuits' and previous research into the structure of the early modern book trade, it argues for a remodelling of the history of British book trade in the seventeenth century. Littlebury's work for Chetham's Library and for other book buyers in this period demonstrates very clearly how the book trade operated outside the bounds of national borders and of the traditionally defined livery companies. Moreover, the evidence of provenance and prices provided by the Library's acquisitions can make a contribution to the ongoing and developing debates on the role of the profit margin in the second-hand book trade, the impact of the Great Fire of London on trade after 1666, and the physical state of books ('bound' or 'unbound') on sale in the seventeenth century. As a study of the relationships between booksellers and their buyers, the relationship between Robert Littlebury and Chetham's Library points to the nature of the reciprocal arrangements that existed between them. Certainly, the fact that both Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith, another supplier of books to Chetham's Library, published works by men involved in the selection of books for the Library, demonstrates that many of the relationships in the early modern book trade were reciprocal: booksellers interacted with buyers, and *vice versa*. Moreover, as this book argues throughout, it should not be forgotten that both booksellers used the despatch of books to Manchester to rid themselves of unmarketable or unprofitable stock, and this has a number of implications about the nature of 'acquisition' for the study of the collections by any library at any time.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> John Doughtie, *Velitationes Polemicae* (London: Printed by W.H. and are to be sold by Robert Littlebury at the Unicorn in Little Britain, 1652).

<sup>29</sup> David D. Hall, 'What Was the History of the Book? A Response', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2007), pp. 539.

The fourth chapter focuses on the Library's acquisition of theology, the subject of the largest number of titles acquired by the Library in the seventeenth century. In particular, it notes the rapid acquisition of books likely to be most useful to the clergy and professionals of Manchester in the middle of the seventeenth century in the defence of the Church of England. It identifies the attention to detail and bibliographical quality of the Library's theological acquisitions throughout the seventeenth century as part of a much more ambitious scholarly project in Manchester: the provision of a universality of scholarly knowledge in the Library. Of specific interest in this chapter are the changes in intellectual life, theological views and the book trade represented by the Library's theological acquisitions in this period: the shift in theological tone from Calvinism to Latitudinarianism; the transition from a dependence upon Continental Latin scholarship to an increasingly native publication and English language works; and the role of the British book trade in disseminating these new forms of knowledge in the defence of the identity of the Church of England. The Library's theological acquisitions were remarkably wide-ranging, even ecumenical, and included a large number of works by Jesuit authors and a collection of Greek Orthodox liturgical works delivered in October 1674. Undeniably, the theological acquisitions included booksellers' attempts to pass on unmarketable stock, but as this chapter shows, the trustees' willingness to accept the titles and to be so detailed in their scholarly coverage was part of the provision for the longer-term value of such texts, the encouragement of scholarly learning in Manchester and Humphrey Chetham's desire for healing and settling after the Civil War.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the Library's acquisition of a universality of knowledge related to the study of history, classics and law. While preceding chapters suggest that the Library's booksellers engaged in a degree of stock-clearance and the passing on of unmarketable stock, the Library's acquisition of historical, classical and law titles has a particular relevance for textual reception in the early modern period. These were titles intended for consultation over a long period of time by a variety of readers. The trustees acquired and accepted them precisely because they were read in a variety of different ways for a long way to come. Moreover, the trustees' provision of a universality of knowledge in the Library led them to accept a variety of books that they felt the Library should own, even if the titles were being passed on

to the Library by booksellers eager to rid themselves of material they had not been able to sell on elsewhere.<sup>30</sup>

Each chapter adds another element to the issues involved in the acquisition of books by Chetham's Library between 1655 and 1700, ranging from the dynamics of the book trade and the theological and political views of the Library trustees to the implications for intellectual reception of the use and usefulness of texts in the early modern period.

The final chapter is concerned with the Library's acquisition of 'scientific' books throughout the seventeenth century. It brings all of the issues discussed in the preceding chapters together in order to reconfigure the relationship between the printed word and the experimental science of the later seventeenth century. Much of the debate about the relationship between early modern science and print culture has been confused by the ongoing dispute between Elizabeth Eisenstein and Adrian Johns about the credibility of the printed word in the dissemination of scientific knowledge. Their work can be nuanced to be properly sensitive to the international dynamics of a book trade practised outside the bounds of the Stationers' Company. Their work does not acknowledge how readers made use of books and instruments in libraries, as considered in this book in three ways. First, the acquisitions did not simply reflect either a demonstrable interest in the experimental science of early modern Britain or the passing on of unmarketable stock by the Library's booksellers. The acquisition of many scientific books by Chetham's Library was part of the institution's commitment to the provision of the universality of knowledge in Manchester. Second, the material forms of the scientific texts acquired by the Library did not correspond to the experimental and incremental nature of early modern science. As the Library's Accessions Register shows, journals, including the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Acta Eruditorum* came as sets, and not as periodicals delivered on the regular basis initially intended by the Royal Society. Third, there is very little evidence that the Library's scientific books and instruments, acquired at great expense throughout the seventeenth century, were ever used to repeat scientific experiments printed in journals and books, not least because the instruments and 'curiosities' were stored some distance from the

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<sup>30</sup> A. N. L. Munby, 'The Distribution of the First Edition of Newton's 'Principia'', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 10 (1952), p. 36.

chained books on the shelves. Rather, their acquisition owed much to the trustees' sense that they were items the Library should own, even if there was no immediate readership for them.

The conclusion draws the book to a close by pulling the three themes of the book together: how the acquisition of books by Chetham's Library can be used to revise the understanding of the early modern trade in new and second-hand books, how the study of textual reception needs to incorporate the use and usefulness of texts into its thinking, and at a more theoretical level, how books should be seen to incarnate many other connected issues surrounding intellectual and material cultures and readership. The next section, a brief history of Manchester in the first half of the seventeenth century, outlines the environment in which Chetham's Library was founded in 1655.

*Humphrey Chetham: 'Manchester's first great philanthropist'*<sup>31</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, Manchester was a provincial town of around 5000 people, still administered by medieval statute. Unusually amongst towns of comparable size, Manchester was governed by a manorial Court Leet, derived partly from the Port Moot and partly from the Court of the Barony.<sup>32</sup> Politically, the absence of an urban corporation meant that Manchester's Court Leet did not see the factionalism that occurred in incorporated towns like Chester in the period preceding the Civil War.<sup>33</sup> Many of the persecuting acts of the seventeenth century did not apply to a town governed by a Court Leet, so Manchester provided a convenient home for nonconformists and evicted ministers, including the nonconformist chapel on Cross Street, founded by Henry Newcome later in the century.<sup>34</sup>

Manchester was one of the more significant northern towns, with transport and postal connections to the rest of northern England, north Wales and Scotland. Carts left from London and Oxford for Manchester twice a week, and there were trade connections to London; Humphrey Chetham and his brother George made a large sum of money trading cloth and wool in the middle of the seventeenth century. Seventeenth-century petitions to the king about highways and

<sup>31</sup> Quoted of Humphrey Chetham in *Manchester Weekly Times*, 30 October 1891.

<sup>32</sup> J. P. Earwaker, *The Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester* (Manchester: Henry Blacklock and Co., 1884), p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> Guscott, p. 269.

<sup>34</sup> Catherine Nunn, 'Newcome, Henry (bap. 1627, d. 1695)', *ODNB*.



bridges showed that the citizens of Manchester were aware of the importance of the town's communications infrastructure to economic and commercial activity within the north of England.<sup>35</sup> On a national scale, Manchester was smaller than many other commercial towns such as Norwich and Bristol, and by no means had the intellectual life of university towns like Oxford and Cambridge, although its citizens were ambitious for the encouragement of learning. Readers who wanted to buy the kinds of books required by a scholarly library had to turn to the London and Continental new and second-hand book trade. Unlike the towns of Bristol, Newcastle, Norwich and York, there was no native publishing or significant book trade. The booksellers Ralph Shelmerdine and Mordechai Moxon plied their trade in Manchester, but nothing was printed in its own right in Manchester until 1719, when William Clayton published John Jackson's *Mathematical Lectures*.<sup>36</sup>

The faithful of Manchester were renowned for the strength of their beliefs. The Puritan minister Hugh Goodyear used the town as a yardstick by which to judge his congregation in Leiden, and said that the English Reformed Church in Leiden 'wanteth the power of godliness which is in those rare Christians in Manchester or thereabouts'.<sup>37</sup> The parish of Manchester was large (around 60 sq. miles), so the Collegiate Church in the town centre was supplemented by a number of parochial chapels.<sup>38</sup> The divines appointed to livings in Manchester were learned and influential clergy, but as they held their Manchester preferments in plurality with others around the country, they were frequently absent from the town. Humphrey Chetham's closest clergy friend Richard Johnson was the Rector of St Paul's Broadwell in Gloucestershire, while Nicholas Stratford held the Wardenship of the Collegiate Church in plurality with the Deanery of St Asaph, the post of chaplain-in-ordinary to the King and a number of Welsh livings.<sup>39</sup> The problems of absent clergy were compounded by ongoing allegations of corruption and controversy at the Collegiate Church, particularly against the Warden

<sup>35</sup> Alan G. Crosby, 'The Regional Road Network and the Growth of Manchester in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Manchester Region History Review*, 19 (2008), p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> John Jackson, *Mathematical Lectures* (Manchester: William Clayton, 1719).

<sup>37</sup> Ann Veenhoff and Marja Smolenaars, 'Hugh Goodyear and His Papers', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 95 (1999), p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> John Booker, *A History of the Ancient Chapels of Didsbury and Chorlton* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1857).

<sup>39</sup> Henry D. Rack, 'Stratford, Nicholas (bap. 1633, d. 1707)', *ODNB*.

Sir Richard Murray. Murray fought back by instituting a 'libel' with Archbishop Laud against Johnson for not wearing a surplice during a service at Gorton Chapel, although Robert Halley noted that this act was probably the only thing Murray did during his twenty-eight year Wardenship.<sup>40</sup> Through Humphrey Chetham and Richard Johnson's work in the 1630s, Murray was removed from the Wardenship and in 1637, a new royal charter was granted to the Collegiate Church.<sup>41</sup>

The English Civil War reached Manchester in September 1642, a month after Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham. The 'Siege of Manchester', the first skirmish of the Civil War, began on 23 September, when 2000 royalist troops, led by the Earl of Derby, demanded entrance to the town and billets for 100 soldiers. The townspeople's inevitable refusal and the subsequent eight-day battle was a victory for Parliament and the people of the town, although the battle's importance has been exaggerated. The combatants came to close quarters very little except on the first day, and while the defenders lost only nineteen, the Royalists suffered 220 dead and 85 taken prisoner. Manchester saw very little other fighting, although in 1648 Prince Rupert and royalist troops passed on the western side on their way to Bolton.<sup>42</sup> More significant than the siege was the establishment in 1646 of Presbyterianism in Lancashire, in which the Church of England was suppressed and the Presbyterian system of Church government imposed. The first synods were convened in Manchester and Bury in February and March 1647 respectively. They boasted a formidable alliance of clergy and laity committed to 'godly reformation' along Presbyterian lines, including John Tilsley and Richard Hollinworth, whom Humphrey Chetham appointed as trustees of his will. The surviving minutes of the Manchester and Bury classes show that they passed judgment on moral offences, and erected scrupulous tests for prospective ministers and lecturers.<sup>43</sup>

Before the foundation of Chetham's Library, Manchester had a limited but distinguished intellectual heritage dating back to the sixteenth century. The famous mathematician and astrologer John Dee, 'philosopher' to Elizabeth I, had been Warden of the Manchester College in the late 1590s. Although it is not known how many of Dee's books came to

<sup>40</sup> *Fellows*, pp. 116, 118, 123. Robert Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity* (Manchester: n.p., 1872).

<sup>41</sup> Guscott, p. 192.

<sup>42</sup> Wilfrid Thomson, *History of Manchester to 1852* (Altrincham: Sherratt, 1968), p. 86.

<sup>43</sup> *Manchester Classis*, p. 3; *Bury Classis*, p. 7.

Manchester, it is known that he lent some of his books to Edward Chetham, Humphrey Chetham's elder brother, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Manchester Grammar School, at which Chetham himself was educated and of which Edward Chetham was High Master between 1597 and 1602, was, like many other grammar schools at the time, in possession of a library for the use of boys and scholars.<sup>44</sup> Sadly, in the absence of evidence, the impact of Dee's loans and an education at Manchester Grammar School on Humphrey Chetham and his decision to create a library in Manchester remains only speculation. Other scholarly achievements included an effort towards the creation of a library in the Derby chapel of Manchester Collegiate Church, paid for through a bequest of ten pounds by Henry Bury of Bury in 1634, but the Civil War put paid to its ambitions.<sup>45</sup> John Prestwich, a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford who had been born in Manchester, gave money for the formation of a library in the Jesus Chapel of the Collegiate Church. This library initially stood next to the 'godly English bookes' purchased by Humphrey Chetham's bequest. Edmund Lees (a former pupil of Manchester Grammar School and graduate of All Souls, Oxford) was appointed librarian of Prestwich's library, and sub-librarian of Chetham's Library until 1666.<sup>46</sup> As Chetham's Library grew, support for the Prestwich Library ebbed away, and the books given by Prestwich (of which no records remain) were eventually subsumed into Chetham's Library and sold by the trustees in the 1680s.

There was a need for a well-resourced library in Manchester to provide scholarly books for students and the divines of the town. There had been a petition to the Long Parliament in 1641 for the creation of a university at Manchester, to which Humphrey Chetham was a signatory.<sup>47</sup> The petition had stressed the town's distance from the universities and the cost to poorer families of sending their sons there, and bemoaned Manchester's 'double eclipse of learning and honour'. The appeal tapped into separate streams of philanthropy and anti-Catholic

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<sup>44</sup> R. A. Christophers, 'Unfamiliar Libraries, 18: The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford', *The Book Collector*, 22 (1973), p. 18; J. B. Oldham, 'Shrewsbury School Library: Its Earlier History and Organisation', *The Library*, 16 (1935), p. 50; Alfred Mumford, *Manchester Grammar School*, p. 34.

<sup>45</sup> Christie, pp. 8, 17.

<sup>46</sup> Alfred Mumford, *Manchester Grammar School*, p. 72.

<sup>47</sup> J.R. Bailey, 'Proposed University at Manchester 1641-51', 'Notes and Queries' section in *Manchester City News*, 27 (1897), pp. 156-9.

scholarship. The petition mentioned the ‘charitable intentions of some private gentlemen therein’ and how they intended to bestow their munificence in this pious work. New scholars in Manchester, it was claimed, would ‘convince and discourage Papists and other superstitious people’. This appeal, like so many other ambitious academic and scholarly exercises at the time, was unsuccessful because it did not have the right resources or organisation, including adequate library provision. By comparison, York’s petitions for a university, made by the corporation of the town in 1641 and 1648, made much of the library in York Minster, which the petition claimed would be an integral part of the new university’s teaching and learning.<sup>48</sup>

As a free public library in Manchester, Chetham’s Library was a combined exercise in philanthropy, religious renewal and the encouragement of learning. Chetham hoped that the creation of a scholarly library, five parochial libraries and a school for poor boys would be part of a ‘reformation of manners’ through social discipline and religious reform along Presbyterian grounds. In order to survive longer than the libraries founded by Henry Bury or John Prestwich, Chetham’s Library had to be financially self-sufficient, administratively sound and useful to the divines and professionals of Manchester. Renae Satterley’s article on the libraries of the Inns of Court showed how many libraries were created and fell into disrepair or desuetude; in the sixteenth century, the library of the Middle Temple ‘was at last robbed of all the bookes in it’.<sup>49</sup> The need to protect the Library’s interests from the challenges of the future was similar to Elias Ashmole’s creation of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the statutes of which incorporated regulations to protect his donation and to fashion the museum as ‘a secure repository of cultural and scientific patrimony’.<sup>50</sup> Again, much like Ashmole’s efforts to protect and preserve his collection at Oxford, Chetham specified (and paid for) that the books in the ‘Great Library’ were also to be chained to the shelves to avoid theft and loss, the most obvious first act in this faith in the power of public institutions.

The creation of a library from scratch with almost unlimited resources allowed the trustees to buy exactly what they thought useful to a learned readership in Manchester. They were able to stock it

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<sup>48</sup> *A History of the County of York: the City of York* (Oxford: Victoria History of the Counties of England, 1961), p. 199.

<sup>49</sup> Renae Satterley, ‘The Libraries of the Inns of Court: An Examination of Their Historical Significance’, *Library History*, 24 (2008), p. 209.

<sup>50</sup> Elizabeth Yale, ‘With Slips and Scraps’, p. 16.

with the best (and most useful) scholarship in all of the disciplines. Chetham's Library was remarkably well resourced from the outset. The testamentary instructions were very clear with respect to the foundation of the Library in perpetuity, and the trustees had a sense of the need to encourage scholars and professionals to come to use the Library.<sup>51</sup> Other public libraries, following Paul Kaufman's definition of the term of 'public' libraries, had been founded before 1655, but none were so explicitly open to all without charge or hindrance from the outset or so explicitly set out in perpetuity. Norwich City Library was founded in 1608 by the Norwich Municipal Assembly, but it became a subscription library in 1656 and subsequently a lending library in 1716.<sup>52</sup> At Bristol, Robert Redwood left money in 1615 for a 'place to put bookes for the furtherance of Learninge', but this provision eventually became a subscription library; in 1612 the town council of Ipswich took responsibility for the collection created out of the bequest of books of the local MP William Smart and, after a shortage of cash, became a private library for clergy. In fact, Henry Bury had cited the £300 left to Ipswich as an influence on his decision to found a library in Manchester.<sup>53</sup> At Wisbech, the town library was established about 1654 by 'several of the more scholarly and studious of the neighbourhood', but later became a subscription book club for local clergy.<sup>54</sup> Finally, at Colchester, Archbishop Harsnett's library was given as a gift in 1631 to the Corporation for the use of the clergy of the town and other divines, but unlike Chetham's Library, was not open to all readers. By comparison, Humphrey Chetham's will specified that the Library was to be free and for 'scholars and others to resort unto'.<sup>55</sup> In spite of claims by other institutions, nowhere other than Chetham's Library had the kind of explicit instructions surrounding free entry without subscription, payment or academic qualification in its founding documents.

<sup>51</sup> Michael Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', *CHL* II, p. 97.

<sup>52</sup> George Stephen, *Three Centuries of a City Library* (Norwich: n.p., 1917); cf. Clive Wilkins-Jones, 'Norwich City Library and Its Intellectual Milieu: 1608–1825' (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of East Anglia, 2000).

<sup>53</sup> Charles Tovey, *A Free Library for Bristol* (Bristol: n.p., 1855); John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1989); John Blatchly, 'Ipswich Town Library', *The Book Collector*, 35 (1986), p. 192; J. L. Stocks, *The Old Town Hall Library of Leicester* (Oxford: The Corporation of Leicester, 1919).

<sup>54</sup> Gordon Goodwin, *A Catalogue of the Harsnett Library at Colchester* (London: Colchester Public Library, 1888); Wisbech Parochial Library, *A Catalogue of Books in the Library at Wisbech in the Isle of Ely* (Wisbech: Wisbech Parochial Library, 1718).

<sup>55</sup> *Will*, p. 228.

Although there was a demonstrable need for some kind of scholarly library in the town, the need for an institution like Chetham's Library was unclear. It was much more than simply a library for the improvement of preaching, unlike the libraries in Norwich, Ipswich and Wisbech. Although many books were purchased for clerical readers, many books purchased by and given to Chetham's Library exceeded the immediate needs of the divines and professionals of a small town in northern England. Yet the fact of having a wide range of material available in such an impressive library was part of Chetham's ambitious personal interest in the encouragement of general learning in Manchester, first expressed in the petition for a university in the 1640s, and as part of an exercise in political 'healing and settling' after the Civil War.<sup>56</sup> Unlike the parochial libraries or university and college libraries such as that of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, for example, it was intended to provide more than simply the intellectual ammunition for godly reformation. It was more akin to a learned individual's library such as those of John Dee or John Selden, which covered a large number of topics. In many cases, the trustees intended the Library's acquisitions for future readers. They were thus freed from the modern requirement of immediate relevance in order to acquire material that the trustees, booksellers or donors saw fit, giving the Library its extraordinary depth and range from theology to experimental science. This book considers how the trustees created a library that was immediately useful to the divines and professionals of Manchester, and how they interpreted the preserving power of the Library to account for the acquisition of increasingly rare and valuable titles that were often otherwise available only in the libraries of well stocked Oxford and Cambridge colleges.

*'There to remaine as a publick Library for ever...'*

In his will, drafted in 1651 and proved after his death in 1653, Humphrey Chetham specified that £7000 of his considerable estate be spent to buy lands worth £400 *per annum* as an endowment for the maintenance in perpetuity of 40 school places for boys from Manchester, along with £500 to be spent in buying a building for their accommodation, which

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<sup>56</sup> Guscott, p. 275.

was to be known as 'Chetham's Hospital'.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, £200 in cash was to be spent on the purchase of 'godly English bookes' for the chained parish libraries in the surrounding parishes of Manchester, Bolton, Turton, Gorton and Walmsley.<sup>58</sup> Most significantly, £1,000 in cash, and the remainder of Chetham's estate after charitable donations was given over to furnish and stock a 'Great Library', for the use of scholars and 'others well-affected'. The parish libraries, stocked with books in English on Reformed topics, were intended to become bodies of religious instruction and reformation for local people.<sup>59</sup> The Hospital, which in its conditions explicitly targeted the godly deserving poor in 'Presbyterian' ways, complemented the drive for moral reformation in the parochial libraries.

The Hospital and Library were to be run by a self-selecting body of twenty-four feoffees or trustees. They were responsible for the finances of the charity, for the appointment of the Librarian and his juniors, and in some cases for the selection of books for the Library. The number of feoffees was high, but not as large as the sixty-two specified for Bedford Town Library.<sup>60</sup> The Library and Hospital were to be accommodated in the buildings originally intended for the residence of the clergy of the neighbouring Collegiate Church.<sup>61</sup> The Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church had lived there from the time of Henry VI until 1547, the first year of the reign of Edward VI. Edward conveyed the lands back to Lord Derby, in the possession of whose family they remained until the time of the Civil War, when they were seized by the sequestrators on behalf of Parliament. Chetham's bequest was used to buy the buildings, and they were finally dedicated as the Hospital and Library in August 1656, three years after Chetham's death.

The absence of a full financial settlement did not deter the Library from the acquisition of books even before the feoffees' authorisation and the dedication. The Library acquired some three hundred titles before the dedication and bought many more before the finances were fully settled, which left a trail of debt and disorganisation.<sup>62</sup> Only in

<sup>57</sup> *Will*, pp. 219–37.

<sup>58</sup> *Will*, pp. 258–9.

<sup>59</sup> Guscott, p. 276.

<sup>60</sup> T. G. Elger, 'A History of the Bedford Literary and Scientific Institute and General Library', *Our Columns*, 21 March 1891, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Claire Hartwell, *The History and Architecture of Chetham's School and Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 25.

<sup>62</sup> There were deliveries on 2 August 1655, 20 September 1655 and 21 May 1656.



November 1655, after Robert Littlebury had already delivered some five hundred titles, was it agreed that 'the feoffees may propose that bookes it pleases to the gentlemen designed for the Election of Bookes'.<sup>63</sup> Even in July 1656, after £500 had been spent on books, discussion of how the £1,000 was to be spent was adjourned. It was not until 21 August 1659 that the feoffees and executors jointly agreed that the money was to:

with all convenient speed be spent in such bookes as be judged useful and the remainder of the Estates due to the Library be forfeited as soon as it may be bestowed on lands for the revenue of the said Library, and also for the running of the keeping of.<sup>64</sup>

By 1659, the trustees had bought eight hundred titles, and by 1661, they had spent Chetham's cash bequest of £1,000. There was a four-year gap until the resumption of deliveries in 1665, when the Library and Hospital were incorporated by a charter granted by Charles II. The charter described Humphrey Chetham as 'a person of exemplary piety to God and charity towards the poor'.<sup>65</sup> Even when the income from the lands in Yorkshire purchased with Chetham's estate was settled and the Library resumed the acquisition of books, there was not enough money to support the expenditure. In effect, the Library's extensive collection was made at the Hospital's expense rather than from the money Chetham had left the Library. And, if financial organisation and disciplined accounting were not high priorities, neither was the necessary financial discipline exercised by the Hospital feoffees, who failed to notice the Library's growing debt to the Hospital. It was only in 1681 that the feoffees drew up a statement of income and expenditure and agreed that Library and Hospital accounts be kept separately.<sup>66</sup> Finally, on 20 April 1685, the feoffees decided to take stock of the Library's affairs. A rudimentary stock-take transcribed in the Accession Register recorded that the Library contained 2,948 volumes (1,994 folios, 954 quartos and octavos), mathematical instruments and a number of museum curiosities, including globes, maps and a snakeskin.

<sup>63</sup> Chetham's Library Minutes Book, November 1655.

<sup>64</sup> Chetham's Library Minutes Book, 21 August 1659.

<sup>65</sup> Claire Hartwell, *The History and Architecture of Chetham's School and Library*, p. 25.

<sup>66</sup> John Roskell, 'Hospital and Library Finance', Unpublished typescript (1981) Mun. A.5.



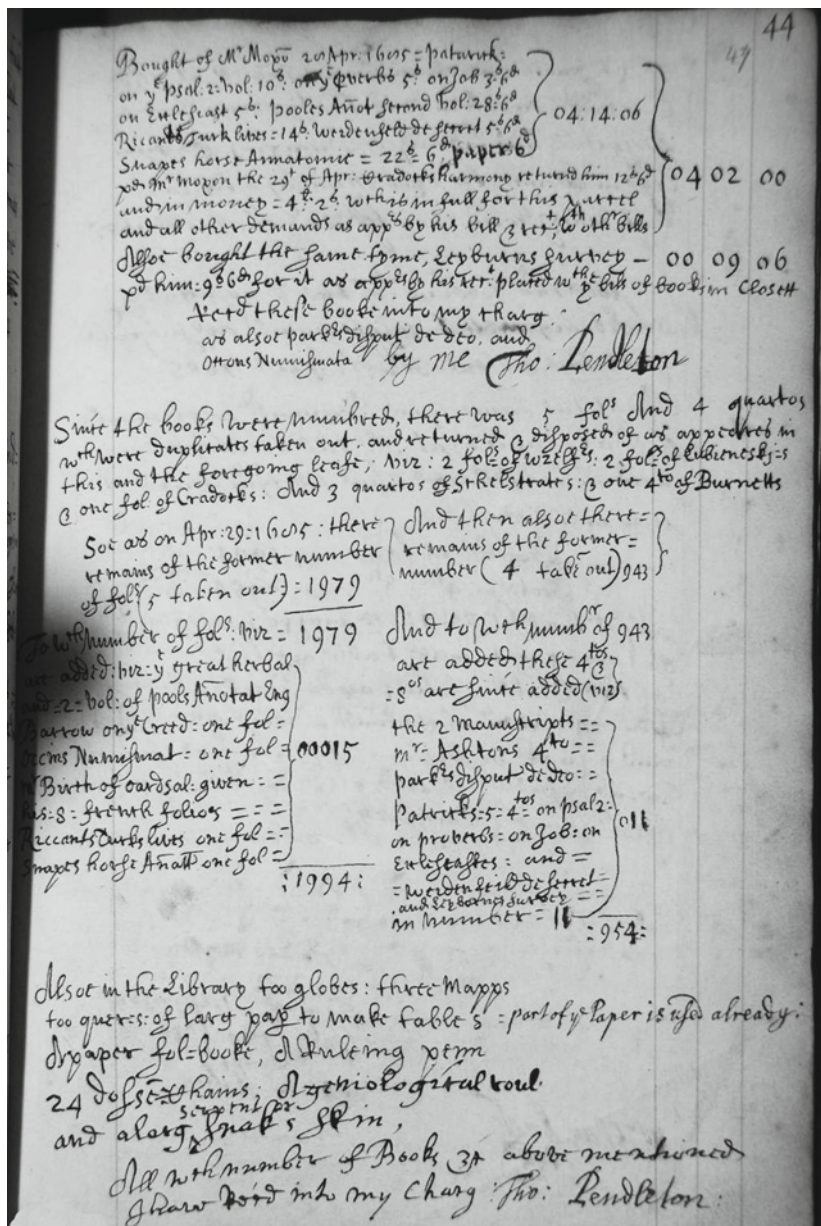


Figure 2. Chetham's Library Accessions Register, *f.49r*.

Up to the first stock-take, the early records of Chetham's Library are not particularly extensive. The terms and conditions of employment for the Librarian were generous; 'diet, chamber and £5 till Easter next', but the job was not arduous, because he was not responsible for the selection and acquisition of books.<sup>67</sup> The most significant document that remains is the Accessions Register, which contains lists in alphabetical order of the consignments of books (and individual volumes) acquired by the Library from 2 August 1655. Each one of the 2,437 entries made between 1655 and 1700 contains the name of the author, the title of the volume, any distinguishing features, and on the right hand side of the page, its cost. The first entry of the first delivery on 2 August 1655 thus reads 'Augustini Opera 8 vol... £7'.<sup>68</sup> The list continues down in alphabetical order to Zwingli, and on through the smaller formats. The Accessions Register is a very detailed list of its all of the seventeenth-century acquisitions; the Library's Invoices Book contains some of the booksellers' original invoices and some correspondence from the London booksellers Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith. As time went on, the detail included in each entry declined as the interest in keeping detailed records fell away. By 1697, a large delivery of classical titles was listed simply by a one-word name and its price. The image following is a reproduction of *f.8r* of the Accessions Register, which records the first thirty-five titles in the delivery made by Robert Littlebury on 20 September 1655:

The 2,437 entries and the corresponding records comprise a body of data about the history of the Library and the history of reading in the seventeenth century that can be explored and turned into historical evidence for students of textual reception and the history of the book trade. No other personal or institutional collector made such detailed records over as long a period of time, and very few early modern collections have such detailed records of prices and conditions of acquisition. The Accessions Register itself has been the subject of very little scholarly attention, partly because the electronic resources have not previously been available to identify all of the titles in the Library's

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<sup>67</sup> A.F. Maclure, 'The Minute Books of Chetham's Hospital and Library, Manchester', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 40 (1923), p. 21; Griffin Higgs recommended that the Librarian of Merton College Oxford be paid £10 *p.a.* P. S. Morrish, *Dr. Higgs and Merton College Library* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1988), p. 199.

<sup>68</sup> Augustine, *Omnium Operum* (Basileae: Froben, 1541).

Box of Public Library sent Septemb<sup>r</sup> 20. 1655.  
 Being of second parcel.

|      |  |    |    |    |
|------|--|----|----|----|
|      | Kristophant Gr: Lat: scholys.  | 00 | 35 | 00 |
|      | Athenas Basauboni. Vol. 2. Gr: Lat:  | 01 | 06 | 00 |
|      | Aquinas Contra Gentiles. Binstyls.   | 00 | 13 | 00 |
|      | Græcæ Opuscula scholastica.  | 00 | 16 | 00 |
|      | Graduation et Graeca etc.  | 00 | 12 | 00 |
|      | Gomathi Geographia Sarra.  | 00 | 18 | 00 |
|      | Goyb his Postillo.   | 00 | 10 | 00 |
|      | Galviss Chronologia. Francof: 1650.  | 00 | 18 | 00 |
|      | Galsanderi Opera.  | 00 | 14 | 00 |
|      | Galsiani Opera.  | 00 | 14 | 00 |
|      | Gorda Adversaria Sarra.  | 00 | 09 | 00 |
|      | Goffelli Critica Sarra.  | 00 | 16 | 00 |
|      | Gustolub: in sententias. Vol. 2.   | 01 | 04 | 00 |
|      | Gustolub de Preparatione Evang: Vol. 2. Gr: Lat:                             | 01 | 05 | 00 |
|      | Epistoly Opera. nov.   | 01 | 02 | 00 |
|      | Humey Chronologia. Mittel: 1655.   | 00 | 05 | 00 |
|      | Portus Institutiones Historico-Theolog.                                      | 00 | 10 | 00 |
|      | Fuller on the Rom: Testament. 1617.  | 00 | 10 | 00 |
|      | Hamonds Annotations on the Testament.  | 01 | 05 | 00 |
|      | Haasford Chronologia. bound in fillet.                                       | 00 | 15 | 00 |
|      | Helianthonis Opera. Vol. 2.  | 02 | 00 | 00 |
|      | Martiny Lexicon Philologicum. 1655.  | 02 | 05 | 00 |
|      | Hodiarilla in sententias. Vol. 2. Binstyls.                                  | 01 | 05 | 00 |
|      | Moxton's Appeals. with yellow leaves.  | 00 | 00 | 00 |
|      | Math: Tansiensis Hist: Anglia. 1640.   | 01 | 02 | 00 |
|      | Ponto in Cantina Cantitorum.   | 00 | 12 | 00 |
|      | Sagami Sagoy in scriptura.   | 00 | 13 | 00 |
|      | Seraphis Auctoris. Vol. 3. Francof: 1609. very strong bound and with clasps. | 01 | 10 | 00 |
|      | Roberti Opera. Vol. 2.   | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| m C  | Deburg's Etimologicum Magnus.  | 01 | 10 | 00 |
| in H | Debondano in Romanis.  | 00 | 10 | 00 |
|      | Deplatonis Opera. Vol. 4.  | 02 | 15 | 00 |
| in P | Deuma Sylvestrum.  | 00 | 00 | 00 |
| in M | Chamathurgus Mararius. etc. Gr: Lat:   | 00 | 12 | 00 |
|      | Atabli Bibl: Vol. 2. Domelini. 1636.   | 04 | 10 | 00 |
|      | Wilson's Asian Dictionary. Vol. 2. Brit:                                     | 00 | 11 | 00 |

Nov 1 1655

Figure 3. Library Accessions Register, f.8r.

holdings. Anne Snape, formerly Chetham's Librarian, undertook a brief study of the booksellers' bills and the Library's earliest acquisitions in an article in 1985, but it was deliberately confined to a general antiquarian examination of the records, and did not explore the wider implications of the available evidence for the history of the book trade and textual reception.<sup>69</sup> Stephen Guscott, who later wrote his doctoral thesis on Humphrey Chetham himself, wrote a dissertation for a Master's degree on three sample deliveries from the Accessions Register in the later seventeenth century, but the necessarily limited scope of the work meant that he was unable to take advantage of the available evidence.<sup>70</sup> There are other sources of evidence about acquisitions through the book trade in the seventeenth century, including the correspondence between Richard Lapthorne and his Exeter buyer Richard Coffin, William Sancroft's correspondence with his booksellers, John Locke's correspondence and Robert Hooke's diaries, but none are as richly detailed or as extensive as the records at Chetham's Library.<sup>71</sup> The evidence at Chetham's Library provides a unique opportunity to add to the history of libraries and textual reception in the early modern period, and to contribute the material such research generates to the ongoing study of the early modern book trade.

Given early modern scholars' reliance on older books, the second-hand trade book was a lively and profitable one, but it has not received adequate scholarly attention. James Raven, in his recent book on the British book trade between 1450 and 1800, gives only three pages to the second-hand book trade, and does not discuss the members of other companies (including the Haberdashers) as assessors and sellers of books, and their extensive work in the sale of books at auction from the mid-1670s onwards.<sup>72</sup> The Library's Accessions Register deserves exploration in its own right as a contribution to the history of Chetham's

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<sup>69</sup> A. C. Snape, 'Seventeenth-Century Book Purchasing in Chetham's Library, Manchester', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 67 (1985), pp. 783–96.

<sup>70</sup> Stephen Guscott, 'The Formation of Chetham's Library, Manchester 1650–1700: a study in seventeenth century learning' (University of Sheffield MA thesis, 1996); Guscott's PhD thesis was subsequently published as Stephen Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham 1580–1653: Fortune, Politics and Mercantile Culture in seventeenth-century England* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 2003).

<sup>71</sup> *Portledge Papers; Hooke; Locke*; Helen Carron, 'William Sancroft (1617–93): A Seventeenth-Century Collector and His Library', *The Library*, 1 (2000), p. 294.

<sup>72</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English book trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 107.

Library, and as a much body of evidence about the book trade, textual reception and the wider field of the 'history of the book'. How the Library's acquisitions fit into the latter field provides the topic of the next section.

### *Chetham's Library and the History of the Book*

There is certainly not enough room in any document to do justice to the full range of debates presently raging in the field generally described as the 'history of the book'. Robert Darnton went so far as to describe it as 'interdisciplinarity run riot', and many problems and pitfalls have emerged since.<sup>73</sup> The inherent interdisciplinarity of the subject has meant that bibliographers and librarians feel uncomfortable in the company of *Annalistes* and critical theorists, while many engaged in book scholarship are not fluent in the language of material bibliography. More troublingly, old hands and neophytes can become mired in debates about methods or can return to their original disciplines without benefiting from the opportunities that interdisciplinarity offers. Twenty years on from Darnton's 'What is the History of Books?', Peter D. McDonald so insists on the interdisciplinarity of book history that he decries attempts to institutionalise it as a formalised discipline. Instead, McDonald suggests that 'Book history is an interdisciplinary method of inquiry, not a discipline, an intersection, not a place.'<sup>74</sup> He argues that scholars involved in the study of literature or the history of textual reception should think 'book-historically' about the objects of study by the inclusion of a book's material form, publication history and dissemination into wider studies of texts. However, while it is important to acknowledge and draw upon work undertaken in the field, it is no less important to avoid the disciplinary trap of identification solely within the 'history of the book'. The term does not do justice to the diversity and range of issues that can be examined through the history of the printed book. When carefully unpicked, the evidence provided by the books acquired by Chetham's Library between 1655

<sup>73</sup> Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' in Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: WW Norton, 1990), p. 110.

<sup>74</sup> Peter D. McDonald, 'Bokhistorie og disiplinmisunnelse' ['Book History and Discipline Envy'] in Tore Rem (ed.), *Bokhistorie* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2003), p. 73; cited in Michael F. Suarez, 'Historiographical Problems and Possibilities in Book History and National Histories of the Book', *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2004), p. 144.



and 1700 can be used to describe aspects of intellectual life in early modern Britain as well as to document the ongoing shifts in British and Continental print and textual culture. Such factors were important in their own right and were significant in how they interacted.

Central to the study of books and their reception in any period is an acknowledgement of the impact of the material form and layout on textual reception. At the level of typography, D.F. McKenzie's *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* demonstrated how typographical errors made by printers in editions of works by William Congreve affected scholarly interpretation of his work. As McKenzie noted, 'by dealing with the facts of transmission and the material evidence of reception, [historical bibliography] can make discoveries as distinct from inventing meanings'.<sup>75</sup> From that, Roger Chartier has noted that the process of reading was a historically mediated activity affected by the material forms of the texts being read.<sup>76</sup> Adrian Johns has extended this argument further, in claiming both that books are the products of debates about credit and the 'credibility' of the material text, and that different forms of scholarly knowledge were disseminated in different formats, such as the periodical publication of the *Philosophical Transactions*.<sup>77</sup> Johns' work is particularly sensitive to the powerful part played by the book trade in disseminating early modern science, but his argument can be extended further.<sup>78</sup> In the early modern period, particularly in Britain, the book trade helped to constitute scholarly endeavour in every subject, including theology, history, classics, law and the 'experimental' science of later seventeenth-century England through a variety of creative and profitable ventures, including subscription publication.<sup>79</sup> The book trade was an important part of the distribution and dissemination of scholarly knowledge, so the

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<sup>75</sup> D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 29.

<sup>76</sup> Roger Chartier, 'The Practical Impact of Writing', in Roger Chartier (ed.), *A History of Private Life III: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 48.

<sup>77</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 498–99.

<sup>78</sup> Adrian Johns, 'Science and the Book in Modern Cultural Historiography', *Studies In History and Philosophy of Science Part A*, 29 (1998), p. 192.

<sup>79</sup> Nicolas Barker, 'The Polyglot Bible', in *CHBB* IV, p. 649; Sarah L. C. Clapp, 'The Subscription Enterprises of John Ogilby and Richard Blome' *Modern Philology*, 30 (1933), p. 365.

relationships at work in the trade have to be included in any study of Chetham's Library. This is of particular significance because both Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith, who supplied the Library with books throughout the seventeenth century, published works by two men involved with Chetham's Library, Nicholas Stratford and Charles Leigh. Moreover, the body of evidence offered by the acquisitions cuts across preconceived and inaccurate models of the early modern book trade. It places the books purchased by Chetham's Library in a international system of intellectual and commercial exchange which includes gossip, scientific instruments, globes, tea and coffee. The Library's acquisitions reinforce the point that the majority of the trade in books and ideas in seventeenth-century Britain took place outside the traditional model of an insular trade in new books conducted by the monopolistic cartel of the Stationers' Company. In this respect this book provides further evidence of the need to place the history of the book on a truly international footing.<sup>80</sup> Robert Littlebury's work for Chetham's Library was a thoroughly transnational trade in second-hand books carried out by members of a number of guilds, including *inter alia*, the Stationers' Company, the Haberdashers' Company and the Merchant Taylors' Company.

Working outwards from the conditions of distribution and dissemination, books in any library or collection were read in a variety of different ways.<sup>81</sup> The perceived usefulness of particular titles to Chetham's Library determined the rate of acquisition of many books, particularly in theology, history, classics and law. Over time it helped to account in the trustees' minds for the purchase of a book that would otherwise be regarded as an expensive and unnecessary acquisition. Conversely, that books and scientific instruments were not read or used in the intended manner is crucial. It is on this point that the book takes issue with Adrian Johns' arguments about the relationship between the journal format and early modern scientific study. 'Use' extends the study of reception from the process of acquisition to engagements with the Library's texts, which adds a further dimension to questions of reception in this period.

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<sup>80</sup> Simon Eliot, 'Whither Book History in the UK, and Beyond?', in Ian R. Willison and Wallace Kirsop (eds.), *The Commonwealth of Books: Essays and Studies in Honour of Ian Willison* (New Castle: Centre for the Book, Monash University and Oak Knoll, 2007), p. 148.

<sup>81</sup> *Book Use*, pp. 2–3.

*The Problems of Use*

It is at the point where historians become interested in the use of texts at Chetham's Library during the later seventeenth century that evidence about contemporary readers' engagements with books runs out. Although readers were forbidden to write in the margins of the books, the possibility that they did so cannot be wholly excluded. The task of identifying and analysing readers' marks is a lifetime's work, and is a task that falls out of the remit of this study. To begin with, the great majority of the marks in the books in the Library date from before the Library's acquisition of the titles, such as the marginal translations in the Library's copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle or the two sets of marks in the copy of the fifth *Biblia Rabbinica*.<sup>82</sup> In the absence of a visitors' book and of marginal annotation, there is little direct evidence to show who used the Library during the seventeenth century, but what remains has been employed throughout this book to illustrate relevant examples of textual reception. Unlike college or university libraries, which hold alumni records from which to infer the names of previous readers, the public nature of the Library means that there is very little evidence of who read what, and similarly little evidence of what they made of it. There are some notes and entries in diaries and commonplace books from the period noting a visit to the Library, and these have been cited where appropriate, although sadly the Library makes no appearance in the *Reading Experience Database*, the electronic historical resource for the history of reading, for the period 1600–1700.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, the trustees kept no records of visitors to the Library, so there is no guestbook from which the names of previous readers can be taken. Gifts to the Library by grateful former or present readers provide some evidence of who read at the Library, including individuals listed in the Gifts Book. Many of the gifts from readers and others were books that fell outside the Library's usual theological and political interests or views, such as Nathaniel Cronkshaw's gift of *Bishop Overall's Convocation Book* and the Quaker works donated by John Jones and Charles Harford Jr in the late 1690s, so the extent to which gifts represented readers' interests at the Library is limited.

<sup>82</sup> Hartmann Schedel, *Registrum Huius Operis Libri Cronicarum* (Nuremberg: Dominus Anthonius Koberger, 1493); *Biblia Rabbinica* (Venice: Bomberg, 1524).

<sup>83</sup> For further details of the Reading Experience Database, visit <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/> [Site accessed 6 July 2009].



For direct evidence of readership at the Library in the seventeenth century, two sources can be productively examined. The nonconformist ministers Henry Newcome and John Chorlton (who was Richard Johnson's brother-in-law) were frequent visitors to the Library who recorded visits in their diaries, and the evidence of their reading is included here.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, two visitors illustrate important points about the nature of the Library's holdings and the use of texts in the Library itself. As the famous naturalist John Ray noted in August 1658:

I proceeded as far as Disley on the way to Manchester, which is a large and very neat town. Here I took knowledge of the College and the new library, which they had furnished with useful and choice books.<sup>85</sup>

The evidence of another seventeenth-century visitor to the Library, Celia Fiennes, suggested that some of the books and objects in the Library, particularly the mathematical instruments, were regarded more as objects of curiosity than for scholarly endeavour.<sup>86</sup> Later readers' interest in some of the seventeenth-century books vindicated the acquisition of expensive books without an apparent immediate readership in Manchester. These included the Greek Orthodox liturgical works employed in support of the non-jurors (such as Nathaniel Cronkshaw) or the scientific titles read by John Dalton in the eighteenth century. These references have been used wherever possible to provide examples of the use made by Library readers of the seventeenth-century acquisitions. Any attempt to reconstruct what the Library's readers made of the books in the Library remains an inexact science, but with careful qualification, some efforts can be made. Questions of textual use and reception throughout the seventeenth century add a further dimension of complexity to issues surrounding intellectual and material culture and readership in the Library's acquisitions.

Books, their readers and readership are slippery objects of study. The historical reconstruction of why readers bought and read the books they did is even more difficult in the absence of explicit

<sup>84</sup> John Chorlton, *The Glorious Reward of Faithful Ministers* (London: sold by Zachary Whitworth, 1696); Worthington, p. 239, n.1.

<sup>85</sup> John Ray, *Select Remains of the Learned John Ray* (London: James Dodsley and J. Walter, 1760), cited in MGS, p. 73.

<sup>86</sup> Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London: Cresset Press, 1947), p. 223.

evidence. Much can still be learned about the nature and role of the book in the formation and dissemination of ideas in the early modern period, and in how readers acquired and used the variety of texts made available to them. The best way to that resolve difficulty is to unpick the variety of issues at work in Chetham's Library's acquisitions, and to identify how they interacted. As a starting point in the examination of the acquisition of books by Chetham's Library, the next chapter turns its attention to the processes at work in the selection and acquisition of books by Humphrey Chetham's three original trustees, the Library's booksellers and their successors during the course of the Library's first forty-five years.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SELECTION OF TEXTS BY CHETHAM'S LIBRARY

*'By the discretion of the said Richard Johnson...'*

In the fulfilment of Chetham's testamentary instructions, the Library acquired a large number of books for a number of different reasons throughout the seventeenth century. The central principle for the Library's trustees was that books bought and received should be of both immediate and longer-term value for learned readers in the town. The age of the books acquired did not matter; knowledge, whether theological or scientific, did not become obsolete as quickly as it does today. The trustees drew, inevitably, on the large quantities of second-hand books necessary for any scholarly library. The trustees and book-sellers used the topics studied as typical university curricula as their starting point; hence, useful theological, historical and scientific titles preceded the acquisition of material of less immediate use to the divines of Manchester, such as literary and dramatic works. For example, no works by William Shakespeare were delivered to the Library by the end of the seventeenth century, and John Milton's *Paradise Lost* did not arrive until the middle of the eighteenth century. Milton and Geoffrey Chaucer, the only two literary figures whose works were acquired by the Library in the seventeenth century, were more of interest in historical terms than as literature. Milton's 1671 *History of Britain* was delivered in the year of publication, and the 1602 Islip edition of the collected works of Chaucer was delivered in 1665.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis of the Library's acquisitions between 1655 and 1700 begins with the examination of the process of book selection by the Library trustees. This chapter considers the difficulties involved in such a study, particularly in the reconstruction of the trustees' intellectual and bibliographical intentions, and the acknowledgment of the varieties of use to which early modern texts were put at the Library.

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<sup>1</sup> John Milton, *The History of Britain* (London: Spencer Hickman, 1671); Geoffrey Chaucer, *Workes* (London: Adam Islip, 1602).

While the evidence of books the Library bought and the price paid is obvious from the entries in the Accessions Register, the processes involved in the choice of books are unclear, partly through a lack of extant evidence and partly because of the multiple hands at work in the selection and distribution of the books concerned. The chapter begins with biographies of the four major figures in the Library's early history: its original three trustees, Richard Johnson, John Tilsley and Richard Hollinworth, and the most influential of the later trustees, Nicholas Stratford, the Warden of the Collegiate Church between 1667 and 1684. It considers their competing views of the Library's intended purpose, and identifies the libraries from which the trustees drew their ideas for Chetham's Library. The chapter moves on to explore the Library's choice of Robert Littlebury, as a bookseller, probably through Richard Johnson's work at the Temple Church, where he fled after the establishment of Presbyterianism in Lancashire in 1646.<sup>2</sup> The Library's collections show that the choice of Littlebury was an excellent one. Littlebury was an acknowledged and well-established second-hand book dealer, an importer of books from the Continent, as well as a publisher in his own right.

The books purchased for the Library were a mixture of the trustees' collective and personal orders, built upon their own tastes and experiences of other libraries, of unsolicited gifts from readers, and titles chosen with the guidance of eminent clergymen and the Library's booksellers. This last aspect of the process of selection sometimes had less desirable effects, in that booksellers used the sale of books to Chetham's Library in order to rid themselves of unmarketable stock. Selection included accepting the 'best edition available', even if that copy of that edition was in some way flawed. In order to have the requisite title in the Library, the trustees accepted works with missing volumes or works with material problems, such as misbound volumes, extensive marginal annotations or censors' marks. The best editions available, intellectually and materially, were equally dependent upon the vagaries of the book trade and what the trustees were prepared to accept for the Library in spite of the book's intellectual and material problems.

This chapter undertakes some statistical assessment of the Library's acquisitions both as a whole and in specific periods of time during the

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<sup>2</sup> *Fellows*, p. 138.

seventeenth century. The history of the book and statistical analysis are not the easiest of bedfellows because of the inevitable number of qualifications involved. Simon Eliot has suggested that to prevent the sum of the qualifiers being greater than the value of the statistics, statistics on the history of the book 'have to possess a high level of information content and some explanatory power'.<sup>3</sup> With respect to the generation of data on the geographical origins of printed titles, the languages in which the titles are printed and the subject matter covered, this book has taken Eliot's recommendations to heart. Discussion later in this chapter shows that the statistics employed herein possess 'explanatory power' in that they contribute to the wider argument about the scholarly reference purposes of the Library's earliest acquisitions. Attention turns first to the main participants in the Library's early history, and their work in turning Humphrey Chetham's will into reality.

'My said personall estate shal bee bestowed by my  
executors in bookes'<sup>4</sup>

Chetham's philanthropy was not just an effort towards godly reformation and the encouragement of learning that picked up on Manchester's previously expressed aspirations for a university. It was an exercise in political and religious reconciliation that showed how men of different perspectives could collaborate after the Civil War and the regicide and to encourage learning in north-west England.<sup>5</sup> Chetham's will listed the men involved in the choice of books for the five parochial libraries and the Great Library:

Also I give to my said executors one thousand pounds to bee bestowed in such bookes as the s[ai]d Richard Johnson John Tildesley and Richard Hollinworth or any two of them shall appoint in the s[ai]d Towne of Manchester there to remaine as a publique Library for ever...I do will and deuise that all of the cd rest residue and remainder of my said personall estate shal bee bestowed by my said executors in bookes by the direcons of the s[ai]d Richard Johnson John Tildesley and Richard Hollinworth...

Contrary to John Durie's recommendations in *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper*, the acquisition of books was the responsibility of the trustees

<sup>3</sup> Simon Eliot, 'Very Necessary but Not Quite Sufficient: A Personal View of Quantitative Analysis in Book History', *Book History*, 5 (2002), p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> *Will*, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> Guscott, p. 280.

rather than of any future Librarian. In Johnson, Tilsley and Hollinworth, Chetham had nominated a close friend, an influential divines and a member of his extended family to choose books for the Library as part of his overall plan for religious and political reconciliation. Yet the trustees did not agree on what constituted the 'public stock of learning'.<sup>6</sup> John Tilsley, a member of the Bury classis (assemblies of neighbour churches in the Reformed church), was a fierce Puritan; Richard Hollinworth, a member of the Manchester classis, was strongly Presbyterian. Both men were instrumental in the establishment of Presbyterianism in Lancashire in 1646. The third trustee, Chetham's closest friend Richard Johnson, was an Oxford-educated Calvinist who was deprived of his fellowship at Manchester Collegiate Church in 1646.<sup>7</sup> The appointment of trustees and feoffees involved in a worthy civic project like Chetham's Hospital and Library forced former and current opponents to co-operate in the interests of 'healing and settling' after the Civil War. It was inevitable that the three men were going to disagree over the purpose of the Library. Similarly, Chetham appointed feoffees for the Hospital with a similar aspiration, and there were roughly equal numbers of parliamentarians, side-changers and royalists.<sup>8</sup> Because Chetham appointed them to work collaboratively, the disagreements and confessional conflicts between three seventeenth-century divines were written out, sometimes literally, in the pages of the Accessions Register.

Hollinworth and Tilsley exerted only a limited influence on the Library's acquisitions, and their impact on the Library can be addressed quickly. John Tilsley was related through marriage to Humphrey Chetham: Tilsley's wife Margaret was Chetham's niece through his brother George. A graduate of Edinburgh University, where he received his MA in 1637, Tilsley's thought was heavily inflected with the philosophy of Petrus Ramus, an intellectual element of Puritanism that promoted radical social and intellectual change. Edinburgh University Library certainly provided much of this kind of material, and Tilsley took the message to heart.<sup>9</sup> In 1643, Tilsley wrote in support of the

<sup>6</sup> John Durie, *The Reformed-School And the Reformed Librarie-Keeper*, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> *Fellows*, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> Guscott, p. 285.

<sup>9</sup> On Edinburgh University Library at this time, cf. C. P. Finlayson and S. M. Simpson, 'The History of the Edinburgh University Library 1580–1710', in Jean R. Guild and Alexander Law (eds.), *Edinburgh University Library 1580–1980* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982), pp. 43–66.

parliamentary forces after the parliamentary army, led by Colonel Seaton, had taken Preston.<sup>10</sup> In 1648 he signed the 'Harmonious Consent' of the ministers of Lancashire, a lengthy exposition in support of the Covenant, the Westminster Assembly, the Scots, and Presbyterian government. In it, the Lancashire ministers bemoaned the 'lukewarmness' of the godly, and the damage done by those who 'pretend[ed] to more piety and holiness' than was the case under 'Prelatical tyranny'.<sup>11</sup> Tilsley had a clear sense that the provision of books for the Library was to be the wellspring of the radical religious and political change begun in the Presbyterian experiment. His views on the nature of the books in the libraries established by Chetham were forcefully expressed in favour of English puritan thought. In a letter in 1655 to Richard Johnson about the parochial library at Bolton, Tilsley noted:

I have sent a catalogue inclosed of books enough for twice soe much moneys as is to be bestowed. Mr Johnson may take such as hee thinkes meete: I spoke with some chiefe of Bolton, whoe desire to have no erroneous Authors Or That have any tincture thereof, though mixed wth [sic] never so much other good matter for feare of infection.<sup>12</sup>

Although the quotation does not refer directly to Chetham's Library, the letter prefigures Tilsley's view of the Library along narrow confessional lines. The acquisitions for the Library in which he had a hand made that view all the more apparent. Tilsley's orders were conspicuously English in origin and Puritan in theology. They included John Worthington's *The Great Duty of Resignation to the Divine Will*, and *Sermons* by Thomas Manton.<sup>13</sup> Tilsley's influence on the selection of titles for the Library was limited, in that he bought only books on Reformed topics in English from the Manchester bookseller Mordechai Moxon. That Tilsley, the Vicar of Deane near Bolton, was doctrinally far removed from the rest of the Library's trustees is further underlined by the fact that on his death in 1684, his place on the Library committee was taken not by another Puritan or divine, but by William Stanley,

<sup>10</sup> John Tilsley, *The True Relation of the Taking of the Town of Preston* (London: Luke Fawn, 1642).

<sup>11</sup> Luke Fawne, *The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: Thomas Smith, 1648), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> John Tilsley to Richard Johnson quoted in Christie, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> William Bates, *The Great Duty of Resignation to the Divine Will* (London: Brabazon Aylmer, 1684); 1688 Thomas Manton, *One Hundred and Ninety Sermons* (London: Tho. Parkhurst, 1681).

the ninth Earl of Derby. Tilsley had seen at first hand the execution by parliamentary forces in 1651 in Bolton of the ninth earl's grandfather, the seventh earl of Derby, James Stanley, the royalist general and 'martyr earl'. In his difference from the rest of the Library's trustees and in the unusual character of his purchases, Tilsley introduces one of the problems behind the study of textual reception at Chetham's Library. It was probably Tilsley's choices that drew the late seventeenth-century Presbyterian minister John Chorlton and his students at his 'teaching University' to read 'controversial divinity' in 1699.<sup>14</sup> Tilsley's orders imply that no entirely coherent explanation or analysis of the holdings and their reception can be expounded because the books themselves came into the Library for a variety of competing reasons.

The role played by Richard Hollinworth (1607–1656) in the Library's history was largely insignificant.<sup>15</sup> Educated at The Manchester Grammar School and Magdalene College Cambridge, Hollinworth was a rigid Presbyterian in his youth, and was a prominent member of the 1646 Bolton classis.<sup>16</sup> He produced a number of tracts and pamphlets, notably *The Main Points of Church Government and Discipline*, a popular work in favour of the Presbyterian system, and *The Holy Ghost on the Bench*.<sup>17</sup> He was centrally involved in the discussions that lay behind a succession of collective statements by the Lancashire Presbyterian ministers in the 1650s, and corresponded on this subject with the heresiographer Thomas Edwards, who incorporated Hollinworth's disclosures into *Gangraena*.<sup>18</sup> He was named in the parliamentary ordinance of 29 August 1654 as a commissioner for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers and schoolmasters in Lancashire, and he continued to confront the destabilising errors of the Quakers. Hollinworth compiled *Mancuniensis*, a history of the town and of its main commercial families, although it was unfinished at his death.<sup>19</sup> Hollinworth's ambitions for the Library were similar to those of John Tilsley, but Hollinworth's Presbyterianism, staunch as it was, had little impact on the Library's

<sup>14</sup> David L. Wykes, 'Chorlton, John (1666–1705)', ODNB; James Clegg, *The Diary of James Clegg* (Matlock: Derbyshire Record Society, 1978), p. 913.

<sup>15</sup> *Fellows*, p. 138.

<sup>16</sup> *Bury Classis*, p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Hollinworth, *The Holy Ghost on the Bench* (London: Ralph Shelmerdine, 1656).

<sup>18</sup> Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 3–5.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Hollinworth, *Mancuniensis* (Manchester: William Willis, 1839).



acquisitions. He died aged 49 in November 1656, only a year after the Library's foundation; John Tilsley preached at the day of fasting a month later. Had Hollinworth lived, the Library might have looked quite different in its theological purpose and content, particularly in its holdings of English Puritan and Presbyterian thought, but his death and the appointment of Richard Johnson were to change that irrevocably.

‘my loving friend, Mr Richard Johnson, preacher  
at the Temple, London’<sup>20</sup>

It is to Richard Johnson (c. 1603–1675) that this chapter will pay the greatest attention, for three reasons: he was Chetham's closest clerical friend, he had important connections to the London book trade, and his trade with Robert Littlebury gave the Library's acquisitions their scholarly range and diversity. Johnson was educated at Brasenose, the college in Oxford with connections to Manchester, and he became a fellow of the Collegiate Church in Manchester in 1632. Johnson and Chetham had worked closely in the 1630s towards the grant of a new charter to the College after allegations of abuse and embezzlement against the incumbent warden Sir Richard Murray. Johnson was not a wealthy man, and during the passage of the charter through the courts and the Privy Council in 1636, Chetham sent large sums of money to alleviate Johnson's poverty. A ‘zealous royalist’, Johnson was deprived of his fellowship in 1646 on the establishment of Presbyterianism in Lancashire, and endured the ritual humiliation of being dragged through the streets of Manchester on the back of a ‘sorry nag’.<sup>21</sup> After being held briefly at Lancaster Prison, Johnson left for London, where he became Preacher, and later Master of the Temple Church, one of the most coveted livings in the country.<sup>22</sup>

Johnson was certainly well paid at the Temple Church. The Minutes Book at the Middle Temple noted quarterly gifts of £50 to Johnson; Henry Newcome recorded in a letter to Sir George Booth in November 1660 that ‘Mr Johnson hath a parsonage of £280 per annum; for so

<sup>20</sup> *Will*, p. 238.

<sup>21</sup> Worthington, p. 239 *n.l.*

<sup>22</sup> Middle Temple Library, Treasurers' Receipts and Accounts Books MT.2/TRB, March 1657. I am most grateful to Mrs Lesley Whitelaw, Archivist of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, for her generous assistance in researching Richard Johnson's period at the Temple Church.

much I heard him say he set it this year'.<sup>23</sup> He was very well connected at the Temple Church and at the Middle Temple. In 1654, when the polymath John Selden was near death, Johnson went to 'assoile' Selden, although at Thomas Hobbes' behest, Johnson was not admitted. Johnson subsequently preached alongside Archbishop James Ussher at Selden's funeral.<sup>24</sup> The lawyer and politician Bulstrode Whitelocke described Johnson as a 'moderate episcopalian of the [James] Ussher stamp', but the thirteen years he spent at the Temple Church were not without controversy, and Johnson left the Temple Church amid some acrimony in the summer of 1659.<sup>25</sup> The first hint of discontent with Johnson's ministry came in a minute of the Middle Temple Parliament from 10 June 1659, in which 'Peter Ball, Mr Eltonhed and Mr Smith are desired to ask the Minister positively whether he will continue in his place, and if not, when he will leave.'<sup>26</sup> Johnson's response to their demand, while full of expressions of gratitude to the Middle Temple, was to claim that 'I cannot persuade myself that my ministrie is as well accepted as I hope it might have been.' Johnson continued that because of his increasing age ('I am near sixtie years of age') and the weakening of his voice, he no longer felt able to carry out his duties at the Temple Church. On his resignation, Johnson asked members of his congregation 'such as have ecclesiastical preferments' to bear him in mind for livings 'in some other place where I may be accepted.'<sup>27</sup> Yet the request for ecclesiastical preferment was not met until 1660, when despite the pretexts of age and increasing infirmity, he was restored to his fellowship in Manchester, where he played an active role in the selection of books for Chetham's Library. In 1666, he was appointed to the Rectorship of St Paul's Church, Broadwell in Gloucestershire, which he held in plurality until his death in February 1675.

Johnson's education at Oxford was a very different intellectual and doctrinal training from the education Tilsley had at Edinburgh and

<sup>23</sup> Henry Newcome, *Autobiography of Henry Newcome MA*, (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1852), p. 323; 'Treasurers' Receipts and Accounts Books MT.2/TRB, March 1657

<sup>24</sup> *Fellows*, pp. 126–27; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1721), Vol. III, p. 328.

<sup>25</sup> David Underdown, 'The Independents Again', *The Journal of British Studies*, 8 (1968), p. 89.

<sup>26</sup> Middle Temple Parliament, *Minutes* (London: Butterworth, 1905), p. 1138.

<sup>27</sup> Middle Temple Library Archives, MT.15/TAM 87.

Hollinworth at Cambridge. While staunchly Protestant, the reading recommended for an Oxford undergraduate degree was catholic and eclectic, infused with contemporary continental thought and rooted in what Mordechai Feingold describes as an 'Aristotelian sense of the interconnectedness of its various constituent parts'.<sup>28</sup> Calvinism was a strong influence on both Humphrey Chetham's and Richard Johnson's faiths. The breadth and depth of the Library's earliest acquisitions testifies to Johnson's eirenicism and to a general Calvinist suspicion of works of Arminianism and Socinianism. University libraries as institutions played little part in Johnson's education and in his work in choosing books for the Library. The college library at Brasenose was intended exclusively for the fellows, while the Bodleian Library was open only to postgraduate students at this time, so Johnson relied on his own books and those of his contemporaries.<sup>29</sup> Far more influential, in the relationship with the book trade and in the choice of titles for the Library, was Johnson's period in London during the late 1640s and the 1650s as Preacher, and Master, of the Temple Church, and in his work with the Inns of Court.

The Inns of Court (of which the Temple Church was the parish church for the Middle and Inner Temples) had a double function in the early modern period. They were both professional training grounds for lawyers and finishing schools for the gentry. Although many places lay claim to the status of the 'third university' in Britain, the libraries of the Middle Temple and the other Inns of Court show that lawyers were at the forefront of learning in the early modern period.<sup>30</sup> The Middle Temple Library had been created in 1642 from the bequest of Robert Ashley's personal collection of 5,000 titles, which covered a wide range of subjects from theology, history and classics to science and mathematics.<sup>31</sup> The judge and writer Matthew Hale noted that subjects other than the law played an important part of study at the Inns of Court until well into the nineteenth century: 'no man could be absolutely a master in any profession without having some skill in

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<sup>28</sup> Mordechai Feingold, 'The Oxford Curriculum in Seventeenth Century Oxford', *HUO* IV, p. 213.

<sup>29</sup> Falconer Madan, 'The Library of Brasenose College, Oxford', *Notes and Queries*, 2 (1880), pp. 321–22.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), p. 92.

<sup>31</sup> Stuart Adams, 'Robert Ashley: Barrister and Bibliophile', *The Middle Templar*, 39 (2005), p. 2.

other sciences.’<sup>32</sup> The Inns of Court were at the heart of the print and book trade in the mid-seventeenth century. A basic search of ESTC reveals 841 titles with ‘printed at Middle Temple Gate’ on the title page. The Middle Temple Library did buy books, mainly in law, during Johnson’s time at the Temple, although the £49 6s. 7d. spent on law books in July 1653 came from Gabriel Bedell and Samuel Thomson, both members of the Stationers’ Company.<sup>33</sup>

By comparison, Chetham’s Library was unusual in having so much money to spend from the outset.<sup>34</sup> The reason for the choice of Littlebury by Chetham’s trustees is unclear, but it is possible to provide a number of suggestions through involve the Temple Church. The first possible connection between the two men for which there is some evidence is that Johnson ordered Bibles for the Middle Temple Church ‘in learned languages’ in July 1653, and in an undated entry, spent ‘the summe of four and forty shillings for the third volume of the New Bible in severall languages.’<sup>35</sup> Given that Littlebury was an acknowledged expert in the sale and valuation of Continental and scholarly versions of the Bible, it is possible that Johnson selected Littlebury for Chetham’s Library after Littlebury supplied the Middle Temple with Bibles, but this is simply speculation. However, if the two men had been known to each other, the trustees at Chetham’s Library would probably not have given Littlebury the wrong Christian name on the first page of the Accessions Register, identifying him as John rather than Robert. Moreover, the formality of the early correspondence between Littlebury and the Library is not characteristic of Littlebury’s correspondence with customers with whom Littlebury had a longer-standing or personal relationship. By way of comparison, a letter in 1668 from Littlebury to his established customer William Sancroft included clerical gossip and references to Littlebury’s wife, touches absent from the early correspondence with Chetham’s Library.<sup>36</sup>

It is possible that Johnson selected Littlebury on the grounds of Littlebury’s work with the preacher, ecumenist and librarian John Durie.

<sup>32</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale* (London: William Shrovesbury, 1681), pp. 14–16.

<sup>33</sup> *Books Printed for, and Sold by, Gabriel Bedel, & Thomas Collins* (London: Gabriel Bedell, 1656).

<sup>34</sup> R.D., *Naaman the Syrian, His Disease and Cure* (London: E. D. and N. E., 1650).

<sup>35</sup> Treasurers’ Receipts and Accounts Books MT.2/TRB, 15 July 1653.

<sup>36</sup> Robert Littlebury to William Sancroft, 29 September 1668, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 314.

Littlebury had made his first foray into publishing with William Dugard in 1650 in the publication of a new edition of Durie's *The Reformed School and The Reformed Librarie-Keeper*, which dealt with the administration of schools and libraries, both of which topics were important to Humphrey Chetham's newly-appointed trustees. This work came out three years before the foundation of the Library and the school, and the trustees could well have been aware of the book's existence. It is easy to see how Littlebury's name and shop-name on the title page advertised his trade, but the trustees of Chetham's Library ignored Durie's instruction that a Librarian should be responsible for the acquisition of books. Instead, Chetham entrusted the selection of books to three named buyers (Johnson, Tilsley and Hollinworth) and the Library's booksellers. The title was not recorded as having been delivered to the Library between 1655 and 1700, although it may have been consulted without being recorded in the collections. Put simply, Littlebury was a bookseller in Little Britain, and Johnson was a learned cleric with large sums of money to spend on books. In the absence of direct evidence, the most obvious reasons for the choice of Littlebury are that Johnson had visited Littlebury's shop in the early 1650s, or that Johnson knew Littlebury by business reputation. Richard Lapthorne noted that Littlebury was 'our standard for knowing Authors'.<sup>37</sup> Littlebury's reputation, and that of his master Laurence Sadler (who supplied libraries in Cambridge), stand in the place of direct evidence about the Library's choice of bookseller.

For Johnson, personal libraries, or personal collections that came into institutional hands, had a greater influence on the titles chosen for Chetham's Library than did his university experience. That Chetham's Library had so much money to spend on books made it an institution *sui generis*. Comparisons with university and college libraries are difficult, although if carefully done, comparisons with the Middle Temple Library and John Selden's library can be made, particularly relating to scientific collections, and titles relating to the Eastern Church.<sup>38</sup> Whatever the range of influences, it was through Johnson's order that Littlebury attracted £2,500 worth of business throughout the seventeenth century, a supply of books that continued after Johnson's death in 1675 until Littlebury's own death in 1695. Johnson's role in the

<sup>37</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 29 September 1692.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Worsley, *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Honorabilis Societatis Medii Templi Londini* (London: Charles Worsley, 1734).

THE  
Reformed-School:  
AND THE  
REFORMED  
LIBRARIE-KEEPER.

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BY  
JOHN DURIE.

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Whereunto is added

- I. An Idea of *Mathematicks*.
  - II. The description of one of the chiefest  
Libraries which is in *Germanie*, erected  
and ordered by one of the most Learned  
Princes in *Europe*.
- 

L O N D O N,  
Printed by *William Du-Gard*, and are  
to bee sold by *Rob. Littleberrie* at the  
sign of the *Unicorn* in Little  
*Britain*. 1651.

Figure 4. Title page, John Durie, *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper*.

selection of texts for Chetham's Library was only one part of the history of the process of acquisition of books. One of Johnson's successors, Nicholas Stratford, deserves particular attention in the study, because his activities has profound intellectual and book trade implications for the study of the Library's acquisitions in this period.

*'Likely to be a mercy to this place': Nicholas Stratford as Warden*

Nicholas Stratford, born in Hemel Hempstead in 1633, was appointed by the crown to the Wardenship of the Collegiate and parish church of Manchester on the death of the Richard Heyrick in August 1667 by the interest of John Dolben, bishop of Rochester.<sup>39</sup> An undergraduate and a fellow at Trinity College Oxford, Stratford contributed a poem to the 1660 collection *Britannia Rediviva*, a set of odes published at Oxford on the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>40</sup> On his appointment, Stratford was thought by the Manchester minister Henry Newcome to be 'likely to be a mercy to this place'.<sup>41</sup> He lived close to his church and began to restore church practices abandoned during the interregnum. He improved chaplains' stipends, and the college's affairs were carefully administered. He was appointed to be one of the Library trustees in the early 1670s, and took on much of the work initially undertaken by Richard Johnson, who died in 1675.<sup>42</sup>

Although his influence on Chetham's Library was intellectually significant, Stratford's tenure at the Collegiate Church was not happy. The Wardenship at Manchester was more a 'dignity' than a cure of souls, and was not particularly well paid, so from 1674 Stratford held the deanery of St Asaph in plurality with a prebendary of Lincoln, the rectory of Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain, Montgomeryshire and the rector of Llanrwst, Denbighshire.<sup>43</sup> Importantly for Chetham's Library, he was chaplain to John Pearson while the latter was Bishop of Chester; Stratford would later call on Pearson to advise Robert Littlebury on the selection of books for the Library.<sup>44</sup> His relatively conciliatory attitude

<sup>39</sup> Henry D. Rack, 'Stratford, Nicholas.'

<sup>40</sup> *Britannia Rediviva* (Oxoniae: L. Lichfield, 1660), sig. L3v.

<sup>41</sup> Henry Newcome, *Autobiography*, p. 167.

<sup>42</sup> *Fellows*, p. 143.

<sup>43</sup> Worthington, p. 238.

<sup>44</sup> Edward Churton, 'Memoir of Bishop Pearson' in John Pearson, *The Minor Theological Works of John Pearson* (Oxford: At the University Press., 1844), p. xcv.

to dissent and his disquiet at Roman Catholic influence, local historians suggest, exposed him to attack from extremists and precipitated his departure from Manchester in 1684 on his nomination to the vicarage of St Mary Aldermanbury, London in 1683.<sup>45</sup> In the dedicatory epistle addressed to 'my worthy and beloved friends, the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford' in work *A Dissuasive from Revenge*, Stratford pleaded for a spirit of charity, but claimed that he had not left Manchester 'for any unkindness to me on your part, nor out of any low or mercenary respect on mine'.<sup>46</sup> Richard Wroe wrote in June 1684 that Stratford had left Manchester 'in such manner as the people think he will not return again', and Wroe was presented to the Wardenship in April 1684.<sup>47</sup> Stratford remained in London until he was appointed to the bishopric of Chester (and, *in commendam*, the rich living at Wigan) in 1689, where he remained until his death in 1707.

Stratford was interested in books and in the book trade from an early stage. Unlike Johnson at Brasenose, Stratford had access to an undergraduates' library at Oxford. Trinity College had the distinction of having provided the earliest recorded separate undergraduates' library, with a

very Good collection of Philos: & Mathem: Books of all kinds as also of the Classicks placed in a room wch we called the Lower Library, where every undergraduate had the liberty to go & study as long as he pleased, which was a mighty advantage to the House.<sup>48</sup>

Stratford's influence on the Library's selection of books is significant in three respects. The first two are connected with his Latitudinarian beliefs, and the last with his relationship with the book trade. Latitudinarianism was a term of opprobrium applied in the seventeenth century to the outlook of a group of Anglican divines who, while continuing to conform to the Church of England, attached little importance to matters of dogmatic truth, ecclesiastical organisation and liturgical practice, preferring instead to stress the compatibility of reason with faith. Nicholas Stratford's personal Latitudinarianism was

<sup>45</sup> *Fellows*, p. 182.

<sup>46</sup> Nicholas Stratford, *A Dissuasive from Revenge* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1684), p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> J.E. Bailey, *The Palatine Note-Book for 1881-1884* (Manchester: Chetham's Society, 1884), Vol. 2, pp. 3-4.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Herbert E. D. Blakiston, *Trinity College* (London: F. E. Robinson, 1898), pp. 173-74.



informed by education at Oxford, where his intellectual diet consisted of the 'wholesome...practical works of Hammond, Sanderson, Cave, Patrick, Pearson, Fuller, Stillingfleet [and] Wilkins'.<sup>49</sup> The Library's later acquisitions were similarly oriented, and the trustees moved away from the Calvinism of the mid-seventeenth century to an Anglican, episcopal viewpoint. Similarly, the experimental science of later seventeenth-century England owed much to the Anglican, or Latitudinarian mode of thought. The alliance between Latitudinarianism and science was part of a search for a *via media* between scepticism and dogmatism, and it was through Stratford's influence that the Library came to acquire a large number of works of later seventeenth-century 'experimental' science, including Newton's *Principia Mathematica* and the *Philosophical Transactions*.

As chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, Stratford was frequently in London, so he was well aware of the London book trade and its relationship with the provinces. According to Anthony à Wood, Stratford was noted for his preaching, and many of his sermons were published by London booksellers such as Robert Littlebury and by provincial booksellers.<sup>50</sup> One of Stratford's sermons, *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Chester*, published by Robert Littlebury in 1681, provides one of the best examples of the reciprocity that existed between booksellers and buyers, which was so crucial to the working of the early modern book trade.<sup>51</sup> Stratford and Littlebury demonstrated that the trade in books and ideas did not simply flow from the metropolis to the provinces; they were in fact mutually reinforcing. The provinces, in the guise of Nicholas Stratford, reciprocally shaped Littlebury's trade and publishing activities, while Littlebury shaped the Library's holdings with his personal choices and recommendations, although the Library did not record the acquisition of a copy of Stratford's *Sermon* until it received William Boothby's copy in the eighteenth century. The next section addresses the variety of factors at work in the selection and acquisition of books by the Library from 1655 and 1700.

<sup>49</sup> John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 316.

<sup>50</sup> Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. 3, p. 1067.

<sup>51</sup> Nicholas Stratford, *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Chester* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1681); Nicholas Stratford, *A Sermon Preached before the King at White-Hall on Christmas-Day, 1682* (London: ...printed by J.R. for Joseph Lawson bookseller in Lincoln, 1683).

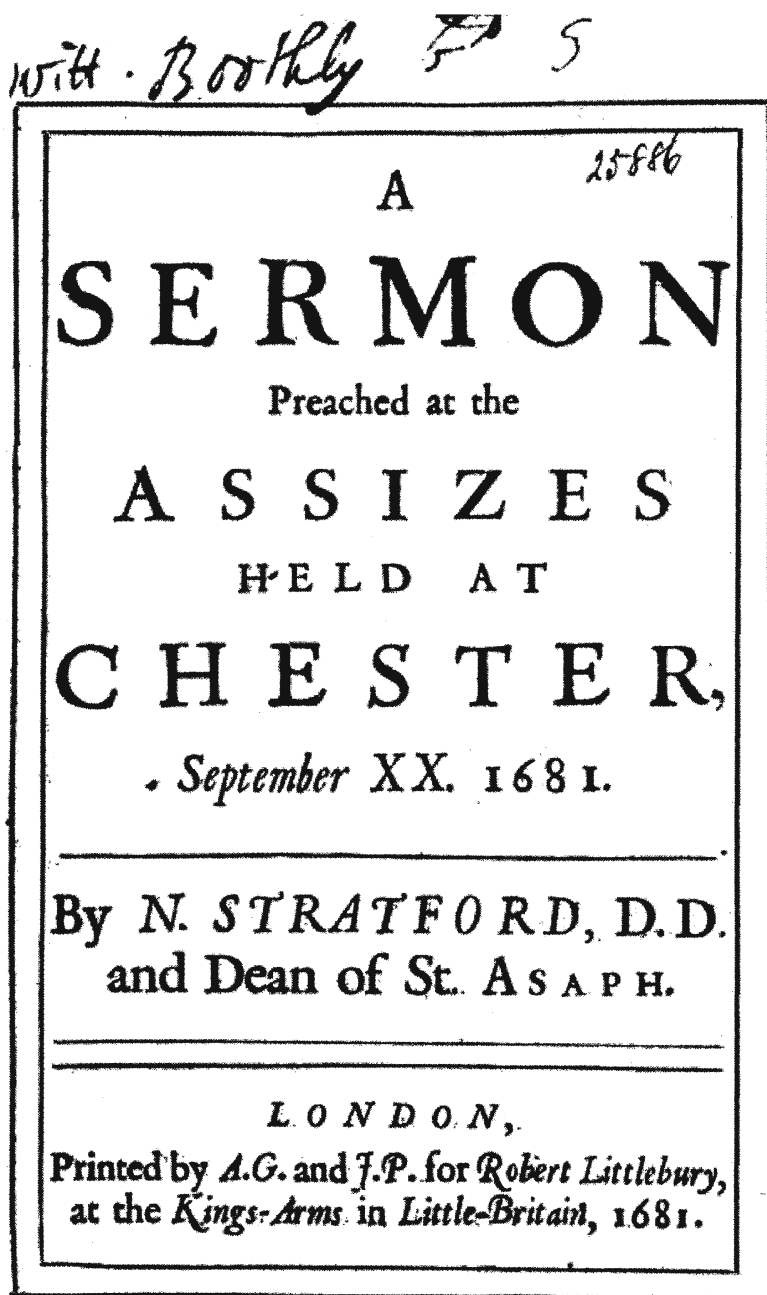


Figure 5. Title page, Nicholas Stratford, *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Chester.*

*The Process of Selection*

The Library acquired books and other items in a confusing variety of ways, and it remains very difficult to provide with any degree of certainty a full list of the reasons for the its acquisitions. This section of the chapter considers the multiple hands at work, and identifies the problems attendant on the study of such processes, particularly in the reconstruction of the trustees' booksellers' and donors' intentions and the evidence that reconstruction provides of readers and readership at Chetham's Library. There is little direct evidence about selection, partly because there were so many fragmentary influences on the acquisitions, and partly because 'selection' covers a wide range of motivations. The factors identified here are a list of the most obvious influences and those for which there exists some evidence, either explicit or inferred from the Library's papers and correspondence.

It is possible to partially reconstruct from the correspondence and the Library's acquisitions themselves how books were selected and ordered by the trustees, even though the original lists of orders are now missing. This absence deprives the study of the book trade of another rich body of evidence that can be considered with the acquisitions themselves, not least to compare what the trustees wanted with what they received. The trustees worked from a list of titles that they knew from previous experience to be essential for any scholarly library, created either from their knowledge of other libraries and academic institutions or from their own personal learning. There is little remaining evidence about the direct ordering of particular titles or sets of titles from Littlebury by the trustees, although Littlebury alluded on a number of occasions to lists made by Johnson, Stratford or other trustees.

Although much of the evidence of the process of selection is now missing, readers discovered new books in a limited number of ways. Just as today, they found new books through bibliographies, booksellers' catalogues, trawling their own personal reading, the advice of others, and through recommendations, suggestions and off-loaded stock from their booksellers. Using these basic categories, this section addresses how (and whether) the trustees selected books for Chetham's Library using these traditional practices. The Library certainly received a number of the most famous British and Continental bibliographies, including four works drawn up by the most famous early modern

bibliographer Konrad Gesner, and works by George Draud.<sup>52</sup> Other library catalogues came later; Dupuy's 1679 catalogue of the famous French collector Jacques-Auguste de Thou, the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae*, was not delivered until 1684, while the catalogue of the Bodleian Library's printed books was not delivered until 1681, some seven years after it was published.<sup>53</sup> The evidence shows, that the rate of acquisition for these works does not support the conclusion that the trustees relied heavily on printed bibliographies for the selection of titles in the Library's early history.

Such bibliographies did not offer information or advertisements for newly published or newly available titles either in Britain or on the Continent. The trustees certainly consulted items like the *Term Catalogues* and booksellers' catalogues in their choices, particularly for newly published or newly imported works or on topics of present interest, although the Library did not retain them. By way of comparison, Richard Laphorne sent copies of the *Term Catalogues* to Richard Coffin in January 1693; William Boothby in Derbyshire frequently received copies of *Term Catalogues* and individual booksellers' catalogues, and Robert Hooke noted seeing a number of Littlebury's catalogues.<sup>54</sup> For example, the Library never recorded the receipt of copies of Littlebury's three (or at least two) printed catalogues during the 1670s, but Stratford selected books from Littlebury's 1676 catalogue, and claimed the cost of the books from the Library. Although it is not recorded in the Accessions Register, the Library holds a copy of Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford's *Catalogus Librorum Domi Forisque Impressorum* from 1695, annotated with a manuscript note, which reads 'Cost 6.d from Mr Smith [and] Walford in Pauls Churchyard at ye sign of the Princes armes Lond. 24. Dec. 1698'.<sup>55</sup> Given that Smith and Walford continued their deliveries to Chetham's Library until Smith's death in 1710, it is quite possible that this catalogue was purchased in order to choose books for the Library at the turn of the century.

<sup>52</sup> Konrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Instituta* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschouerus, 1583); 202 Georg Draud, *Bibliotheca Classica* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Balthasaris Ostern, 1625).

<sup>53</sup> Pierre Dupuy, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae* (Parisiis: Dom. Levesque, 1679); Thomas Hyde, *Catalogus Impressorum Librorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674).

<sup>54</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 30 January 1693.

<sup>55</sup> Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford, *Catalogus Librorum Domi Forisque Impressorum* (Londini: S. Smith & B. Walford, 1695).

Gabriel Naudé had recommended that libraries and librarians should buy everything available, including printed catalogues, sermons and pamphlets. At Chetham's Library, there are no records of the acquisition of catalogues, newsbooks, prognostications, almanacs, or titles, tracts or pamphlets relating to the history of Manchester during the Civil War in the Library's collections, similar to the collection made by the London bookseller George Thomason. Similarly absent from the records of purchases of the 1680s are sermons and tracts relating to the fear of Popery and the Popish Plot. The Library certainly has the kind of works and publications to which Naudé referred in its possession today, although the conditions of their acquisition are unclear, and it is impossible to speculate exactly when the Library received them. It is probable that the Library held copies of such titles (including perhaps, John Durié's *Reformed Librarie-Keeper*) but did not record their acquisition or their addition to the Library's stocks, regarding them as inherently ephemeral and unworthy of long-term preservation. It seems very likely that the Library received copies of tracts and sermons by clergymen associated with the Library, including Nicholas Stratford's *Sermon at the Chester Assizes*, or works by John Tilsley, Richard Hollinworth, Richard Wroe and Nathaniel Banne.

The conclusion has to be that the trustees of Chetham's Library did use these items to help to choose new and second-hand printed books for the shelves, and although the titles were not recorded in the Accessions Register, the men responsible for choosing books for the Library intended them for reference. This is similar to the modern practice by which librarians do not add booksellers' catalogues and book reviews to the shelves. The information provided by catalogues and ephemera was reinforced by a number of different pieces of advice about the availability of titles through the book trade. Many books came with booksellers' catalogues pasted or sewn in at the back of the original text. For example, the 1656 edition of Edward Herbert's *Expositio in Ream Insulam* was accompanied by Humphrey Moseley's 1656 catalogue of recently published books.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly, Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith were granted a degree of freedom to choose books for the Library from what had recently become available in the new and second-hand trade. Littlebury kept tabs on the books the Library had yet to purchase in order to supply

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<sup>56</sup> Humphrey Moseley, *Courteous Reader, These Books Following Are Printed for Humphrey Moseley* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656).

them when they became available; he wrote in July 1674 that all of the books he sent were new 'except Bacons Resuscitation...[and] a piece of Vossius, which by my notes are already in your library'.<sup>57</sup> And in 1685, Littlebury claimed that the duplication of copies of works by Schelstrate 'was not occasioned through any oversight of mine', although he happily bought them back in a package from Thomas Minshull.<sup>58</sup> Littlebury and Smith sought the advice of other specialist booksellers to meet some of the Library's scholarly needs. In 1665 and 1689, Littlebury engaged the services of the London law booksellers John Starkey and Christopher Wilkinson to provide law books for the Library. The extension from Littlebury's freedom to choose books for the Library in areas in which the trustees had little expertise is that on a number of occasions he offered them works in which he had a financial share. Littlebury wrote to the trustees in August 1683 that 'I sent it [*The Present State of England*], because I have a share in the copy', although the trustees do not appear to have recorded its acquisition.<sup>59</sup> Booksellers' latitude in the supply of books led inevitably to some acquisitions that had little or no potential readership in seventeenth-century Manchester.

The trustees sought the advice of eminent clergymen and scholars on what the Library ought to purchase, particularly in the case of Continental titles that were considered lacking from the Library. Stratford sought the counsel of both of his two diocesan bishops, John Pearson, who as Bishop of Chester was responsible for Manchester, and William Lloyd, who was Bishop of St Asaph during Stratford's tenure of the Deanery there. Pearson was an eminent book collector, scholar, the editor and compiler of *Critici Sacri*, and Stratford's predecessor-but-one at Chester. Lloyd had become Bishop of St Asaph in October 1680, and published his *History of the Government of the Church* in the same year he selected books for the Library, although he did not recommend it for delivery.<sup>60</sup> The letter from Littlebury in July 1684 reproduced below suggests that Littlebury had recently received an order from the two men:<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Invoices, 16 July 1674, f. 38r.

<sup>58</sup> Invoices, 4 April 1685, f. 49r.

<sup>59</sup> Invoices, 9 August 1683, f. 43r.

<sup>60</sup> William Lloyd, *An Historical Account of Church-Government* (London: Charles Brome, 1684).

<sup>61</sup> Accessions, 24 July 1684, f. 3r.

Hon<sup>d</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>.

I have now received from D<sup>r</sup>. Stratford, the  
names of such bookes as are made choise of  
for the Library, by the Bishops of Chester, &  
St Asaph, who being soe great masters of  
Learning and bookes, that I believe there are  
scarce two more able in the Kingdome. Nothing  
more remaynes for me to doe, but to take all possible  
care to send them away with y<sup>e</sup> first conveniency  
I can, and to gett Carriage as reasonable as may  
bee. Thus much I presumed would not be amiss  
to let you understand, which with my humble  
service presented is all from S<sup>r</sup>.

London. July .24:  
1684:

Your most oblig'd Serv<sup>t</sup>.  
Ro: Littlebury.

In the parcel, will be found entered in the London books, which on  
perused and read y<sup>e</sup> for, and where any is of the nature that  
will be found on the fild, or elsewhere, as there in will be  
And also of all other books:

Honoured Sir

I have now received from Dr Stratford, the names of such bookes as are  
made choice of for the Library, by the Bishops of Chester and St Asaph,  
who being soe great masters of Learning and bookes, that I believe there  
are scarce two more able in the Kingdome. Nothing now remaynes for  
me to doe, but to take all possible care to send them away with ye first  
conveniency I can, and to gett carriage as reasonable as may bee. This  
much I presumed would not be amiss to let you understand, which  
with my humble service presented is all from sr

Your most obliged servant  
Ro: Littlebury

London July 24 1684

Figure 6. Robert Littlebury to the Library, 24 July 1684.

A month later, Littlebury reported that 'there is not a leaf more of Paper than was made choice of by the Bishop of St Asaph and Dr Stratford'.<sup>62</sup> The delivery of September 1684 was the end of Stratford's work for the Library, as Richard Wroe had noted Stratford's departure from Manchester some six months before the delivery of books. Stratford's influence on the Library was not completely forgotten. Presumably to acknowledge Stratford's service at St Asaph, in 1695 the Library purchased Henry Wharton's *Historia De Episcopis & Decanis Londinensibus [et] Assavensibus*, a history of the Bishops and Deans of London and St Asaph.<sup>63</sup>

The trustees ordered individual titles from the trade, usually to offer a theological view at variance from the overall theme of the holdings. John Tilsley and James Chetham (Humphrey Chetham's nephew and feoffee of the Hospital) were the most obvious participants in this practice. Tilsley's personal orders were always identified in the Accessions Register 'by Mr Tilsley's order', or acknowledged in booksellers' correspondence; James Chetham's personal orders are similarly identified within larger orders from John Starkey and Mordechai Moxon. Gifts of books were not particularly important, because the Library was so well funded that it did not depend upon the generosity of donors. While there is evidence to suggest that the trustees did not always take up Littlebury or Smith's offers of particular titles, there is no evidence that the Library ever refused a gift. However, the gifts the Library did receive reflected the interests of the donors rather than the trustees. The original feoffees were of differing political and theological stripes, and so too were the early donors and the books they donated, as listed in the Accessions Register. Donors included the Anglican clergyman William Assheton, the doctor Charles Leigh, the Tory MP for Clitheroe, Roger Kenyon, the parliamentary army officer and politician John Birch, the nonconformist minister John Angier, the royalist landowner, topographer (and Catholic) William Blundell of Crosby, and readers at the Library to prepare for university examinations, including Nathaniel Cronkshaw and Nathaniel Baxter. Books given as gifts were very different from the books purchased by the Library. Exactly what the trustees did want for the Library, and how these standards can be described and measured, is the focus of the next section of this chapter.

<sup>62</sup> Invoices, 30 August 1684, f. 47r.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Wharton, *Historia De Episcopis & Decanis Londinensibus Necnon De Episcopis & Decanis Assavensibus* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1695).



'not ye last but the most Correct Edition.'

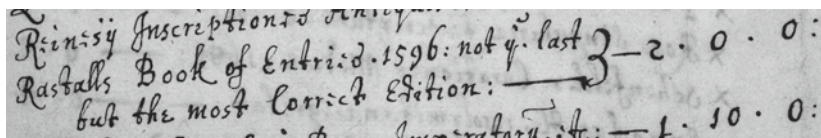


Figure 7. Robert Littlebury to the Library, Invoices, f. 42r.

The intellectual content, subject matter, material forms and conditions of distribution and reception of the Library's acquisitions changed over the course of the seventeenth century. Three important issues need to be addressed before proceeding with analysis of the Library's acquisitions in this period. The first is how a title's date of acquisition can be used to measure its importance to the trustees. The second is how far the Library's acquisitions stand up to comparison with the 'best editions available' in the middle of the seventeenth century. Finally, with respect to readership, the need to examine the character of the trustees' choices, because titles were not necessarily purchased or acquired for the same reason, from cover-to-cover consumption to works of instant reference.

It is worth stating at the outset that the latest edition of a work was not necessarily the best one, even if the trustees wanted the most recent edition. In the case of the delivery of Rastell's 1596 *a Collection of Entrees* in October 1683, a pointing hand note was drawn to the edge of the entry of the Accessions Register with the comment 'not the best ed.', presumably in reference to the availability of an edition published in 1670. Yet comparison with Littlebury's entry in the Invoices shows that Littlebury was well aware of the superior quality of earlier editions, as the entry in his invoices read 'not ye last but the most Correct Edition.'<sup>64</sup> Chetham's Library was unusual among early modern libraries in being created *ab initio*, and in the acquisition of the majority of its titles from one bookseller. The process of acquisition for other institutions was piecemeal, and the acquisitions said more about the donors' beliefs and opinions than the institution's need for such works. It is from these differences that a measure of the importance

<sup>64</sup> Accessions, f. 42v; Invoices f. 42r; William Rastell, 1596 *a Collection of Entrees* (London: In aedibus Ianae Yetsweirt relictæ Caroli Yetsweirt Ar. nuper defuncti, 1596).

the trustees attached to a particular title can be employed. 946 entries in the Accessions Register were made between 1655 and 1661, in which the trustees spent the £1,000 in cash left by Chetham. There was a four-year gap until the resumption of deliveries in 1665, when the charitable foundation governing the School and Library was incorporated by a charter from Charles II. The 'cash spend' up to 1661 provides a very simple way of identifying what the Library trustees regarded as essential to any early modern library, including the large number of Bibles, biblical commentaries and the works of the major theologians purchased between 1655 and 1661.

The period between 1661 and 1700, in which the trustees spent the money earned from the land purchased with Humphrey Chetham's bequest, was in part a period of consolidation in the acquisition of second-hand and older titles, most notably in books that the trustees had not bought on the grounds of availability, or for political and theological reasons. For titles acquired between 1661 and 1700, one of the clearest signs of its importance to the trustees or to an individual trustee is the date of acquisition relative to its date of publication. Measuring the Library's apparent responsiveness to newly emergent titles is tricky, because what constituted 'new' remains difficult to define. Many titles came to the Library in the year of publication; John Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae* was published in London in 1671 and acquired from Littlebury in the same year at a cost of five shillings and sixpence, which suggests that the turnaround time for the acquisition of new titles was a year or less.<sup>65</sup> Imported continental titles often arrived within a year of publication, like Boileau's *Historia Confessionis Auricularis* from Paris, and Grotius' *Epistola*, published in Amsterdam in 1687 and supplied by Littlebury in the same year.<sup>66</sup> By comparison, Richard Lapthorne used the word 'new' to describe titles published within the previous calendar year, including a 1692 edition of Ray's *Historia Plantarum* and a 1693 edition of the Venerable Bede.<sup>67</sup>

The evidence of the booktrade, too, supports the conclusion that two to three years was as long as books remained in the booksellers'

<sup>65</sup> John Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae Et Talmudicae* (Londini: Benjamin Tooke, 1671).

<sup>66</sup> Jacques Boileau, *Historia Confessionis Auricularis* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Edmundi Martini, 1684); 2064 Hugo Grotius, *Epistolae Quotquot Reperiri* (Amstelodami: P. & I. Blaeu et al, 1687).

<sup>67</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 12 December 1692; Bede, *Opera Quaedam Theologica* (Londini: Samuel Roycroft, 1693).

hands before they lost their novelty. Moses Pitt's *Atlas* and Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* showed that the failure to sell on new books quickly was disastrous; Pitt tried desperately to sell copies of the first four volumes of his *Atlas* for many years after they first appeared, while Robert Littlebury tried to sell more copies of the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* to the Library trustees five years after it first emerged. Booksellers did not remainder books, by which unsold copies were disposed of by catalogue or through auction: they were an invention of James Lackington in the eighteenth century.<sup>68</sup> One tactic to sell unsold copies was to replace original title pages with new ones, usually bearing a more recent date, and often claiming (falsely) that the new edition was 'new and improved', or corrected, as was tried by Isaac Littlebury in 1684 when he sought to sell off further copies an edition of Catullus.<sup>69</sup> Booksellers were thus forced to try to sell on titles as quickly as possible, as Samuel Smith did when he took over the edition of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* in 1690.<sup>70</sup> It was in the interests of booksellers, new and second-hand, to move stock on quickly. Smith's experience suggests that three years was the *terminus ad quem* for the length of time a bookseller could afford to have unsold books in stock, and at which more radical steps had to be taken. The Library's acquisitions therefore suggest that the Library received titles more because of these vagaries of the book trade than at the instigation of the Library trustees.

Aside from studying the Library's acquisitions by date of publication and date of delivery, the question of whether or not the it received the 'best editions available' at the time can be measured by a variety of qualitative and quantitative tests, drawn by comparing its acquisitions with a range of existing print and electronic library catalogues. A number of these comparisons are subject-specific, for example, whether like other comparable institutions, the Library acquired extensive collections of patristic works in Greek and Latin, or whether it was unusual in receiving twenty volumes of works by the Jesuit theologian Francisco Suárez in 1660 at a cost of £9. Similarly, there are titles or sets of titles at Chetham's Library that are not matched elsewhere in Britain,

<sup>68</sup> James Lackington, *Memoirs* (London: James Lackington 1792).

<sup>69</sup> Gaius Valerius Catullus, *Caius Valerius Catullus* (Leiden: Prostant apud Isaacum Littleburii, 1684). Apparently a reissue of the Leiden edition of 1684 to be sold in England, with a new title page giving the London bookseller's name.

<sup>70</sup> Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (Londini: Jussu Societatis Regiae, 1687).

including the *Euchologion* by Maximos Margounios, printed by Pinelli in Venice in 1602, which is extremely rare.<sup>71</sup> Other obvious indicators of the intellectual and bibliographical quality of the Library's holdings include records of the number of works produced by the major Continental publishing houses from whom Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith imported, including Waesberge and Wetstein in Amsterdam and Utrecht. In England, the 'best editions available' included the sophisticated scientific and Arabic titles published at the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford after the refoundation of the University Press by the Dean of Christ Church John Fell in 1660. Before proceeding with a discussion of how far the Library's purchases were the 'best editions available', a number of qualifications about the nature of selection and reception need to be considered.

'The Use of Books, not their Reading, makes us wise.'<sup>72</sup>

Chetham's Library was founded as a reference library for the divines and professionals of Manchester. This fact bears repetition at this stage because this attitude defined how the Library was designed and put together, both in the immediate readership of books in the Library, the physical design of the Library and the bibliographical qualities of the books. Many of the books acquired by Chetham's Library were never intended for reading from cover to cover, nor were they thus read, and the discussion of how books came to the Library has to consider this point carefully. Many titles were intended for reference, including biblical concordances and harmonies. They formed a large part of the Library's earliest acquisitions, not least to combat 'information overload', and which understood the reader to be an active and creative participant in the creation of meaning from the text.<sup>73</sup>

One of the best examples of a book at Chetham's Library that acknowledged how its readers used it was the delivery by John Starkey in July 1665 of Michael Dalton's *The Countrey Justice*, ordered personally by James Chetham, a justice of the peace for Lancashire. The title page acknowledged that justices searched the book in order to find passages relevant to their work, by using asterisks and manicules (pointing hands) to mark the beginnings and endings of important

<sup>71</sup> Orthodox Eastern Church, *Euchologion* (Venice: Antonio Pinelli, 1602).

<sup>72</sup> Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, f. 170r.

<sup>73</sup> Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload Ca. 1550–1700', p. 18.

passages, as well as new or edited parts of statutes concerning the work of the justices of the peace.<sup>74</sup> With its printed marginal notes and wide margins, in which to write comments and to add manuscript manicules, the *mise en page* encouraged use, and Chetham clearly acquired it for that purpose:

I O

## The Office of Sheriffs.

C A P. I.

King delayed, ye shall truly return and truly serve all the Kings Writs as far forth as shall be to your cunning, ye shall not have to be your  
 \* Under-sheriff of any of the Sheriffs Clerks of the last year passed; ye shall  
 take no Bayliif into your service, but such as you will answer for; ye shall  
 make each of your Bayliffs to make such Oath as you make your self in  
 that belongeth to their occupation; ye shall receive no Writ by you or  
 any of yours unsealed, or any sealed under the seal of any Justice, save of  
 Justices in Oyer, or Justices assigned in the same Shire where ye be Sheriff  
 in, or other Justices having power and authority to make any Writs unto  
 you by the Law of the Land, or of the Justices of *Newgate*; ye shall  
 make your Bayliffs of true \* and sufficient men in the County. \* Also \* Note these  
 ye shall do all your power and diligence to destroy and make to cease all words, *All He-*  
 manner of Heresies and Errors, commonly called Lollaries, within your *refes and Er-*  
 Bailiwick from time to time to all your power, and assist and to be helping *rors, commonly*  
 to all Ordinaries and Commissioners of the holy Church, and favour and *called Lolla-*  
 maintain them as oftentimes as ye shall be required by the Ordinaries *ected a-*  
 Commissioners: ye shall be dwelling in your own proper person within *gainst by the*  
 your Bailiwick for the time ye shall be in the same Office, (except you *Lord Chief Ju-*  
 be otherwise licenced by the King; ) ye shall not let \* your Sherifffwick, *stice Cook, and*  
 nor any Bailiwick thereof, to any man; ye shall truly set and return *Ordered to be*  
 reasonable and due issues of them that be within your Bailiwick, after *left out of the*  
 their estate and behaviour; and make your pannels \* your self of such *Oath, Cr. Car. 18*  
 persons as be most next, most sufficient, and not suspect, nor procured, as *H. 4. c. 5.*  
 it is ordained by the Statutes; and over this in eschewing and restraint of *23 H. 6. c. 10.*  
 the Manslaughters, Robberies, and other manifold grievous offences that *\* Nota.*  
 be done daily, (namely by such as name themselves Souldiers, and by other  
 Vagrants, the which increase in number and multiply, so that the Kings  
 Subjects may not sure ride nor go to do such things as they have to do, to  
 their intollerable hurt and hinderance; ) ye shall truly and effectually with  
 all diligence possible to your power execute the Statutes, as the Statutes of  
*Winchester* and Vagabonds: All these things ye shall truly observe and keep,  
 as God help you, and by the contents of this Book.

By a Statute made in 25 Car. 2. ca. 2. he must receive the Sacrament, take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and subscribe this following Declaration:

I A. B. do declare that I believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.

The parts of this Oath, as Sheriffs are shortly these.

The Kings  
Rights.

1. **T**ruely to keep the Kings Rights of his Crown, (Cz. his Lands, Revenues, Franchises, Suits, and all other things within that County, belonging to the Crown) without lessening or concealment of them; or else to certify the King, or some of his Council thereof.

The Kings debts

2. That he shall not respite the Kings Debts, where they may be raised without great grievance of the Debtor.

Figure 8. Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice*, p. 10.

<sup>74</sup> William H. Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 42.

The physical design of the Library reflected the way in which early modern readers studied. The chaining of books was not immediately promising for readers, as chained books were the exact reverse of the kind of reading suggested by early modern 'book wheels' and associated technologies.<sup>75</sup> When reading a book at a shelf, the length of the chains meant that readers were effectively limited to looking at the books immediately to the left and to the right. The chains made it impossible for readers to have a number of different books in front of them at the same time. Far from being able to assert their own individual power over the texts by reading them side-by-side or in comparison, the reader physically moved around to gain the information they wished to take from a book. To show how books were arranged by subject, Figure 9 shows the arrangement of books from the first Library shelf-list of 1680.<sup>76</sup> Table 1 beneath it lists the subject categories of the books on the shelves in alphabetical order, and as it shows, a reader wishing to compare Bibles and Church History titles had to walk along the two corridors of the Library and find the relevant page in the other book, make a note or memorise its contents and return to the original book to carry on reading.

It was easy to adhere to this structure early on, but as the Library grew bigger and the number of titles grew, books were chained by size unrelated by subject. Something similar occurred at the library in the Royal Grammar School at Guildford in the later seventeenth century.<sup>77</sup> A lack of subject order inevitably led to confusion for readers, as they were not able to 'read around' topics of related interest to the text in hand by looking at the titles on either side on the shelf. Because the presses were lower in height, the Library was probably lighter and brighter than it is today, but it was only open for four hours a day during the winter, which severely restricted the amount of time available for readers to gain access to the books. The book chains and the short shelves on which books were placed made it difficult to write out or copy from the texts, nor were there any rules or declarations about the

<sup>75</sup> Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, 'Studied for Action', p. 46 *n.* 47.

<sup>76</sup> The diagram is taken from Inventory and shelf list 1680, Chetham's Library, Mun. A.5.2.ii.

<sup>77</sup> R. A. Christophers, 'The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford', p. 20.

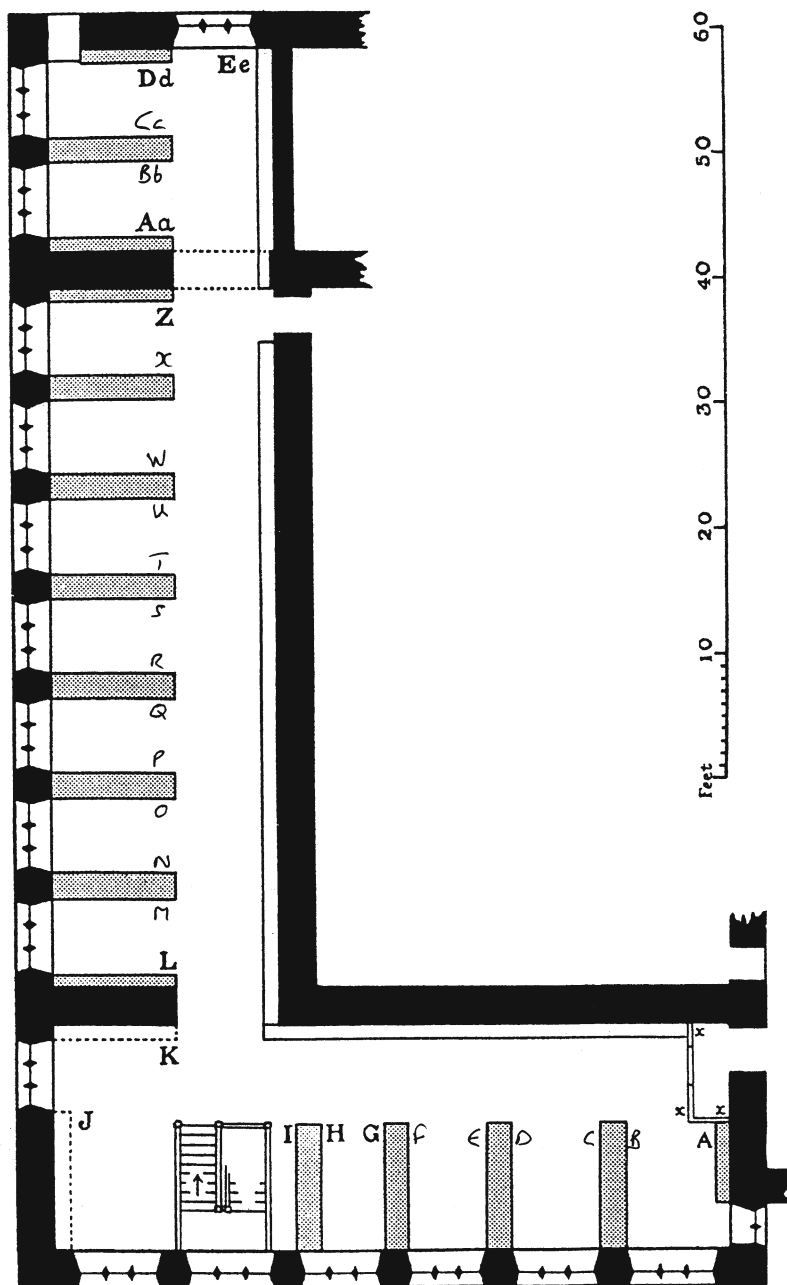


Figure 9. Chetham's Library floorplan, ca. 1680.

Table 1. Subject shelf-list, according to manuscript shelf-list in the Library, ca. 1680

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|    |  |
|----|--|
| A: | Judaica, Biblical Lexicons, Dictionaries and Thesauri                    |
| B: | Bibles (in all languages), New and Old Testaments, Concordances          |
| C: | Councils of the Church   |
| D: | Patristics   |
| E: | Patristics   |
| F: | Biblical Commentaries  |
| G: | Biblical Commentaries  |
| H: | Biblical Commentaries  |
| I: | Biblical Commentaries  |
| J: | Position of arch into building   |
| K: | Dogmatics, Doctrine, Practical Theology                                  |
| L: | Dogmatics, Doctrine, Practical Theology                                  |
| M: | Dogmatics, Doctrine, Practical Theology, Recent / Controversial Polemics |
| N: | Recent / Controversial Polemics, Ecclesiastical History                  |
| O: | Recent / Controversial Polemics, Ecclesiastical History, Schoolmen       |
| P: | Ecclesiastical History   |
| Q: | Ecclesiastical History   |
| R: | Ecclesiastical History, Ancient History – Greek and Roman                |



Table 1. Continued

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|  |
|--|
| S:   |
| Ancient History – Greek and Roman                              |
| T:   |
| History and Geography, English History                         |
| U:   |
| History and Geography, English History, Science and Philosophy |
| W:   |
| History and Geography, English History, Science and Philosophy |
| X:   |
| Science and Philosophy   |
| Y:   |
| Literature and Classics  |
| Z:   |
| Literature and Classics, Catalogues and Dictionaries           |
| Aa:  |
| Natural History, Medicine                                      |
| Bb:  |
| Medicine   |
| Cc:  |
| Law  |
| Dd:  |
| Law, English Law   |

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use of ink or pencils near the books, of the kind which the Bodleian Library later introduced. Pencils (as used by readers today) were difficult to come by and expensive. If the Library trustees permitted ink pens in the Library, ink spillages would have been inevitable. There are few such accidents in the Library's records, which perhaps suggest that readers were instead expected to memorise or consult brief passages of text without writing them into commonplace books or as notes.

Although the arrangement of the books at Chetham's Library militated against extensive reading, readers had little difficulty with the way in which it was designed and arranged.<sup>78</sup> The physical and spatial

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<sup>78</sup> For a discussion of the chained libraries, cf. Burnett Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (London: Macmillan, 1931), pp. 265–73.

restrictions on readers and reading in the Library were in many cases less important than initially appear. Many of the problems discussed here surrounding readership are in fact problems that twenty-first century readers would have with using the Library in the seventeenth century. Early modern readers, particularly ones educated at the grammar schools and universities, were trained from an early age to commit enormous quantities of scripture, classical literature and poetry to memory.<sup>79</sup> It was a perfectly normal expectation that a text, usually quotation or excerpts from books, were committed to memory standing at a library shelf. Ann Blair is, of course, correct when she nuances the act of memorisation in reading in the suggestion that ‘for the long-term retention and accumulation of information, note-taking was the more common aid to memory’, but more generally, at Chetham’s Library, readers were expected to read a text and to memorise it.<sup>80</sup> Early modern clergy, preachers and divines literally knew scripture chapter and verse, which stood them in good stead when consulting the material at Chetham’s Library. Samuel Pepys and Lady Anne Clifford learned lengthy quotations in their reading; a reminder, as Kevin Sharpe notes, that ‘print did not replace the skills or habits of an oral culture’.<sup>81</sup>

The beginning of this chapter drew on Geoffrey Whitney’s poem for Sir Andrew Perne, and it is important to read two lines from the next stanza:

Then printe in minde, what wee in printe do reade  
Els we loose time, and bookes in vaine do vewe.

These lines imply that Whitney’s understanding that reading and the use of books was necessarily bound up with the internalisation of texts as ‘printe in minde’, a ‘mental copying aligned with mechanical reproduction, so that reading-as-use essentially reprints the book, but this time in a form useful to a single individual’.<sup>82</sup> Although it is slightly earlier than the period in question here, the medieval practice of *lectio divina* aimed at the refinement of memory through what

<sup>79</sup> Walter J. Ong, *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 47.

<sup>80</sup> Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 76.

<sup>81</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 272.

<sup>82</sup> *Book Use*, p. 2.

Mary Carruthers calls a 'process of memory-training, storage and retrieval'.<sup>83</sup> The process of reading was intrinsically bound up with memory. At Chetham's Library, an institution intended to serve the purposes of preaching clergy, this fact was crucially important, particularly in any consideration of the impact of the design of the Library on reading practices. Time, physical space and the nature of early modern learning encouraged readers to act speedily and to approach books individually in order to extract and memorise the relevant information. Little evidence remains about how readers at Chetham's Library, and these are simply suggestions as to how readers used the texts made available to them and to the physical and intellectual structures within which they worked. Much more work needs to be done on the Library's seventeenth-century shelving arrangements and on its impact on readership, not least in a reconstruction of the Library along the lines of the original 1684 shelf-lists. Here the problems and issues that surrounded the use of books in the Library have been identified and future avenues of research discussed.

Any study of the readership for books in libraries has to acknowledge readers' long-term justifications for the acquisition of particular texts. Books did not need to prove their immediate value to find a place at Chetham's Library. There were a number of books that came into their own many years after their acquisition, supported by the trustees' interpretation of Humphrey Chetham's testamentary instruction to invest in 'such bookes...there to remaine as a publique Library for ever'.<sup>84</sup> The acquisition of books extended into a commitment to preserving knowledge in the acquisition of titles that the trustees felt that the Library should own then and for much later readers to encourage learning in Manchester and the north-west and as part of the process of post-war 'healing and settling'. The trustees were prepared to accept titles into the Library's holdings even if they were in some way lacking or defective, particularly if it was of scholarly value to the Library. The fact that the trustees were prepared to accept a flawed copy is a sign of the title's importance and their interest in the best editions available at the time. The Plantin Polyglot Bible, acquired in 1669 at a cost of £20, lacks the eighth volume, and is very confusingly misbound.<sup>85</sup> Similarly

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<sup>83</sup> Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 162–63.

<sup>84</sup> *Will*, p. 260.

<sup>85</sup> Benito Arias Montano, *Biblia Sacra* (Antwerp: Christoph Plantinus, 1569).

imperfect are the collected works of Luther, delivered in 1655, which lack the seventh and final volume, and Fulvio Orsini's *Imaginae et Elogia*, which has many of its plates and much of its text missing.<sup>86</sup> Of course, the trustees' definition of imperfection is very different from a twenty-first century understanding of bibliographical imperfection. While ESTC describes a work which lacks only a half-title as 'imperfect', the best editions available for Chetham's Library sometimes had to include books with elements missing, but which otherwise served the Library well or were regarded as essential titles in any scholarly library. Imperfection was accepted as part of the acquisition of the best editions available. Central to this book is the understanding that the history of intellectual reception and the history of the book must necessarily acknowledge the materiality of the texts in question. The trustees of Chetham's Library were certainly prepared to accept titles that were in some way or another bibliographically flawed, and they were prepared to accept works that are today regarded as 'soiled by use' or annotated out of all recognition by earlier readers.

### *Preserving the Best Editions Available*

Crucial to any discussion of the process of acquisition by the trustees of Chetham's Library is an awareness of the material bibliographical forms of the acquisitions, particularly given that the trustees had specific bibliographical needs and concerns. In order to understand the significance of the materiality of the texts in Chetham's Library, two aspects of the trustees' interpretation of the Library's original purpose need to be restated: their commitment to a useful scholarly institution founded in perpetuity, and the aim, stated in Chetham's will, to heal and settle the wounds of the Civil War, regicide and Commonwealth.

The trustees had a very clear sense from the outset about the physical format of the books acquired for the Library. They ordered titles that were printed in large format; around two-thirds of all the titles acquired by the Library throughout the seventeenth century were in folio format, with the remainder in quarto format, although there were a very small number of octavo and books in smaller formats. Larger-format books were the Library's priority, and almost entirely in printed

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<sup>86</sup> Martin Luther, *Tomus Septimus Omnium Operum* (Witebergae: Thomam Klug, 1557); Fulvio Orsini, *Imagines Et Elogia* (Romae: Ant. Lafrerij, 1570).

form: the Library purchased only two manuscripts, while the remainder were acquired as gifts from grateful readers.<sup>87</sup> Of the two manuscripts that were purchased, one, a fourteenth-century collection of tracts by Augustine, was supplied by Robert Littlebury; the other, the 'Confessio Amantis' of the fifteenth-century English poet John Gower, was sold to the Library in 1666 by Edward Boothe, a kinsman of Humphrey Chetham and worshipper at the Collegiate Church.<sup>88</sup> The 'Confessio Amantis' (which it is suggested in fact belonged to Humphrey Chetham himself<sup>89</sup>) was sold to the Library in August 1666 as part of a collection, along with Richard Hollinworth's copy of *Roger Widdrington's Last Rejoinder to Mr. Thomas Fitz-Herbert*.<sup>90</sup> The other manuscripts in the Library's holdings came as gifts, including the most valuable manuscript in its collection, Matthew Paris' 'Flores Historiarum'. The latter was a Latin chronicle that dealt with English history from creation until 1326, was a gift from Nicholas Higginbotham of Stockport (christened at St Mary's Church in Stockport on 22 November 1601), although its beauty and significance remained unnoticed throughout the seventeenth century. The title page of the manuscript, which was added in the seventeenth century, bears the note '*Ex dono Nicolai Higginbotome De Stockport Generosi et ibidem seneschalli 1657*', although the trustees did not record it in the Accessions Register on its delivery, and noted only the presence of three manuscripts at the first stock-take in April 1685.

The trustees showed little or no interest in the binding of the volumes for the Library, other than that they were properly bound, and of the contemporary bindings that remain, many are typical of that time. Littlebury's invoices often noted copy-specific information about binding, but comparison of the entries in the Invoices with the Register suggests that while they transcribed much of the copy-specific information, they were by no means consistent in noting it all, partly because what the bookseller regarded as relevant was not always important for the readers and trustees. For seventeen entries, the trustees did not transcribe all of the properties identified as important for sale the

<sup>87</sup> Gifts Book.

<sup>88</sup> N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), Vol. 3, p. 345.

<sup>89</sup> Guscott, p. 181 n. 58.

<sup>90</sup> Confessio Amantis; Thomas Preston, *Roger Widdrington's Last Reioynder* (London: n.p., 1633).

booksellers Littlebury and Smith. For example, the entry in the Invoices for the Plantin Polyglot Bible, acquired in 1669 reads 'gilt edges. Bost. Buft. Vol. 7', which was not reproduced in the Accessions. The meanings of 'Bost' and 'Buft' mean can be reasonably assumed to mean embossed and buffed, but no further judgments can be made. Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* was recorded in Littlebury's invoice as having been 'Washt. Rubd. Marble. gilt', and the collected works of Charles I first supplied in June 1669 was noted as having 'marble' papers, none of which appeared in the Register.<sup>91</sup>

In most cases, the Library received its books in the bindings of former owners, both British and Continental, or paid for the binding of new titles, such as the £4 paid in 1660 for the 'Extraordinary Binding' provided for the Library's copy of the London Polyglot Bible (which the Invoices note had been supplied in quires).<sup>92</sup> The nineteenth century was a cruel period for historic bindings. Rather than today's practice of restoring and repairing bindings, brown boards were used to replace many beautiful original bindings, which has deprived book historians of a rich body of evidence about former owners and the sale of books after their owners' deaths. The provenance of books held as little interest for the trustees of Chetham's Library and its booksellers in the later seventeenth century as it did in the nineteenth century. So too did questions about the way in which books were read in the past. The best way to piece together the provenance of a particular text in a library and its reception history is to use all of the marks of former readers. However, all of this evidence comes to a halt once the book came into Chetham's Library, the point at which this book is most interested in the reception of texts in Manchester. Of the 2,437 titles delivered to Chetham's Library during the seventeenth century, today only around one hundred and forty have meaningful evidence of former owners. Most of this evidence comes from signatures or mottoes of former owners inscribed on title pages, and in one case, it has been possible to identify a former owner from the marginal annotations. In 2007, on inspection of the marginal annotation of the text, James Carley was able to confirm that the Cambridge Hebraist Thomas Wakefield was one of a number of former owners of the Library's copy of the *Biblia Rabbinica* delivered in 1666.<sup>93</sup> The bindings of books,

<sup>91</sup> Invoices; *Plantin Polyglot* f. 28r; *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, f. 29v; *Charles I*, f. 28v.

<sup>92</sup> Invoices, f. 23r.

<sup>93</sup> *Biblia Rabbinica* (Venice: Bomberg, 1524).

which can sometime be a rich source of evidence of provenance in book history, are only a limited source of evidence for the provenance of books in the Library in this period. Although the Greenwich binding has helped to identify the royal provenance of the Library's copy of the *Opera* of Prosper of Aquitaine, and the armorial binding of former owners such as Christopher Hatton, William Kerr, Jean Jobert and John Whitgift show how Littlebury was able to procure books through the second-hand book trade, bindings provide only a small body of evidence of provenance.

Just as with the age of the texts acquired, the trustees were similarly unconcerned by copy-specific inscriptions, annotations, marginalia, manicules, extensive manuscript notes or indeed censors' black marks. The fluid definition of 'best editions available' meant that there was a negotiation between a title's value to the Library's overall holdings or its rarity and the extent of marks of former readers' use and ownership of the work. All of the volumes of the Library's copy of the collected works of Galen<sup>94</sup> (acquired in 1656) are heavily annotated and with much manuscript marginalia throughout. The annotations are in at least five separate sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hands, three in Latin, one in Greek in black ink and another in Greek in red ink. The copy of Theophilus, acquired in 1667, has sixteenth-century manuscript inscriptions on the title page, including text in Greek, names, and manicules and underscoring throughout, in at least two different hands.<sup>95</sup> At Chetham's Library, the online catalogue is not consistent in its descriptions of readers' marks, but by using such search terms as 'marginal', 'marginalia', 'fists', 'annotations', 'inscriptions', 'Ms.' (for manuscript addition), the electronic database for the Accessions Register suggests that a large number of titles came with some evidence of readership, ownership or engagement with the text on its title page or within the text itself. Within the titles acquired by the Library in this period, at least 53 are catalogued with Marginalia, fifteen with 'Fists', 'Marginal' 71, 'Annotations' 46, 'Remarks' 8, and 'Ms.' 150. The number of titles at Chetham's Library with these descriptions therefore suggests a considerable number of titles with marginal annotation and signs of previous readers. Moreover, the absence of comments on the annotations in the Accessions Register suggests that the trustees were unconcerned by their presence in the books.

<sup>94</sup> Galen, *Hapanta* (Basileae: Par' Andrea to Kratandro, 1538).

<sup>95</sup> Theophilus, *Institouta Theophilou Antikensoros* (Basileae: Froben, 1534).

The presence of readers' marks did not perturb the trustees at Chetham's Library, least of all with rare or valuable titles. The trustees expressed no opinion for or against the works with readers' marks; this is best exemplified in the Library's copy of the 1493 *Nuremberg Chronicle* (acquired in 1670 from Robert Littlebury at a cost of fifteen shillings) and its copy of the *Mishneh Torah*, printed in Venice in 1550, and acquired by the Library in 1656.<sup>96</sup> The trustees made no comments in the Accessions Register in this instance about the copy-specific marginalia, and they did not demur when the Library received its copy of the Giustiniani *Mishneh Torah*, which had a large number of words effaced by the Venetian censors, with a manuscript addition of the date:

The Library's copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is an extraordinary example of manuscript additions to a printed book. The additions are in a variety of hands, written over a long period of time, with nearly one hundred years' of historical additions in manuscript (up to the Colloquy of Regensburg and the Council of Trent), amplifications of the indexes, dreams in verse, and 'Addresses to the Christian Reader'. As the image provided below shows, the number of words in English in manuscript in the margins certainly exceeds the number of printed Latin words.

The cult of the clean book, devoid of readers' marks and signs of use is, as Stephen Orgel points out, 'one of the strangest phenomena of modern bibliophilic and curatorial psychology'. Early modern readers and book buyers were far more comfortable with owning books with details of ownership and reception inscribed in them.<sup>97</sup> Part of this tolerance came from the fact that notes, relevant or not to the text at hand, had to be written somewhere, and as William Sherman suggests, in the absence of expensive paper, margins and title pages sufficed. The nature of early modern reading meant that it was an accepted part of the life of books. Most owners of private libraries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tolerated other readers' marginalia.<sup>98</sup> Marginal comments in the Library's copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* did not affect the price paid. The Library paid the same price in 1670 for its copy as

<sup>96</sup> Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* (Venice: Marco Antonio Giustiniani, 1550).

<sup>97</sup> Stephen Orgel, 'Margins of Truth' in Andrew Murphy (ed.), *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 92.

<sup>98</sup> William H. Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 161.



מניין המצות להרמבם      מצות לא תעשה

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

כיום – והאזהרה וזה קול אחרון וכעתה עקצקת על תגמ' – והעבר עת  
 זה חייב להיחשב תוכבו תלמודו ופשוטו ויטעו וקצת נחיתות ספרו אל  
 כהן הידוענו תלמודו כד ארזב בביתו שפוט כסות ארזב לנשים בנזיר  
 על אלהיו הונו והוא אחרון תל תלכס שטעמו – וזה חומסס קיום  
 בנזירי עז ביהרס' – והעבר יעלה לו ענין תפלותיו וכבר קבלו  
 ענין חסדו ו בחסות כללם וכבר יעלה ויחזקו ויבארוהו בקלסו  
 ספרו' –

Figure 10. Censor's marks in the Library copy of Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*.

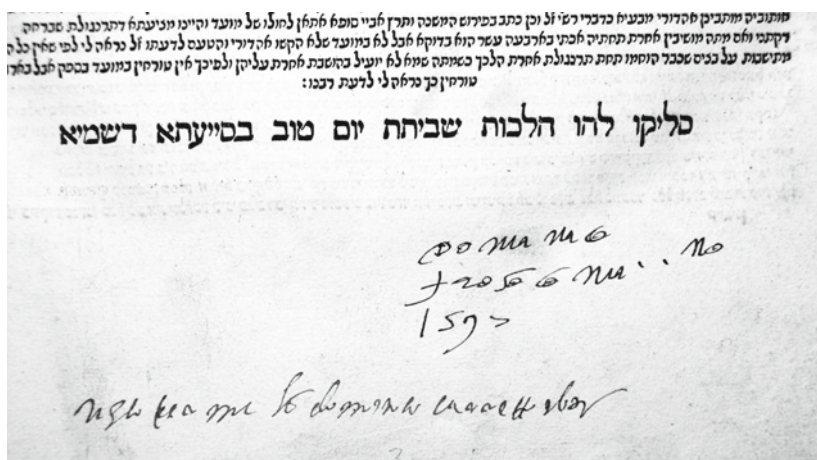


Figure 11. Venetian censor's signature in Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*.



Figure 12. A detail from the annotation of the Library copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

was paid for a copy of the same book at auction in the 1680s. Far from being, as Daniel Woolf claims, a 'mere' fifteen shillings, it was the going price at the time, and the extensive marginal annotations had little impact on the price paid by Chetham's Library.<sup>99</sup>

The Library accepted books with marginal notes because the books like the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and the *Mishneh Torah* were rare and of considerable scholarly value even with marginal commentary.<sup>100</sup> Conversely, given the absence of comments in the Accessions Register, there is little evidence to support the conclusion that they *welcomed* the acquisition of books with marginal annotations. There were few extant and available copies of either book in the mid-seventeenth century, so the trustees were unconcerned by apparent material flaws in order to have them in their collection and to make the books available for the Library's readers. As with missing volumes, the extent to which the trustees worried about material forms and flaws was determined by the overall importance and usefulness of the titles in question for the Library's readers. The next section considers by statistical means what the trustees regarded as useful, and how these acquisitions can be accurately measured.

### *An Overview of the Collection*

There are 2,437 entries in the Library's Accessions Register between 1655 and 1700, which equates to 3,056 titles acquired. Not every volume of a particular title has a unique identifier; because some titles have been bound together over the course of the last 350 years, and in some cases, different parts of the same volume were acquired at different times. Of the 3,056 titles in the corpus, 3,042 were books or periodicals; six were mathematical instruments; three books or sets of books were for entering information about the Library, and five were manuscripts acquired from booksellers or as gifts. The Accessions

<sup>99</sup> James Allgood, Northumberland Record Office, ZAL/85/1. Cited in Daniel R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, p. 224.

<sup>100</sup> As a matter of note, two of the books with discernible marks of provenance or textual use in the acquisitions in this period can be traced to women readers or owners. Maureen Bell, 'Women Writing and Women Written', in *CHBB* IV, pp. 431–51.

Register is not exhaustive, as there were more acquisitions than were recorded in the Register. Library correspondence and papers refer to books and globes acquired by the Library that are not in fact in the Register. For example, some of the manuscripts received as gifts from the Library and the first set of mathematical instruments first appear in the Library's 1685 stock-take.

The following statistics can only prove so much about the history of the titles acquired, particularly given the difficulties involved in ironing out statistical flaws and for standardisation along consistent geographical, subject and material lines. The data does not provide a great deal of information about the views of the trustees and how their views changed and developed. Although the Library's early acquisitions were more pronouncedly second-hand in origin before 1661, the post-1661 acquisitions were heavily dependent upon scholarship produced some years before. While the number of newly published titles purchased was small but sizable between 1655–1661, the trustees' responsiveness to new titles was far more obvious after 1661, as the table below demonstrates:

Table 2. Percentage (%) all titles by date of publication and period of acquisition<sup>101</sup>

|           | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1661–1700 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Pre-1480  | 0.16      | 0.17      | 0.16      |
| 1481–1500 | 0.08      | 0.28      | 0.20      |
| 1501–1520 | 0.39      | 0.28      | 0.33      |
| 1521–1540 | 1.50      | 0.90      | 1.15      |
| 1541–1560 | 3.34      | 2.19      | 2.66      |
| 1561–1580 | 7.49      | 3.49      | 5.15      |
| 1581–1600 | 14.2      | 4.27      | 8.40      |
| 1601–1620 | 23.7      | 10.6      | 16.0      |
| 1621–1640 | 28.2      | 11.0      | 18.2      |
| 1641–1660 | 20.8      | 14.7      | 17.2      |
| 1661–1680 | 0.16      | 30.4      | 17.8      |
| 1681–1700 | 0         | 21.8      | 12.7      |

<sup>101</sup> Figures may not equal 100% because of rounding.



As a result of the Reformation's emphasis on a return to the comparison and study of the original languages of scripture, many of the titles in Chetham's Library, particularly of a theological character, contain text in a number of different languages set out for the purposes of comparison, such as the Polyglot Bibles. In many books, for example Greek patristics or classical Greek authors, Greek and Latin texts are often set side-by-side. For example, the 1578 Estienne edition of Plato that belonged to Ben Jonson, put Greek side by side with Latin; the book's language can be given either as Greek or Latin.<sup>102</sup> The table below lists the number of titles in each language relative to the period of acquisition:

The table shows that Latin titles formed around three-quarters of the Library's holdings, but they were far from wholly in Latin. Although they are imprecise measures, the two following tables offer some perspective on the languages in the titles acquired by Chetham's Library because they bring out issues relating to the use of the books for reference purposes. The first table is a listing of the books in Latin acquired by Chetham's Library between 1655 and 1661 that have one or more other languages included in the full title, which by implication are parallel texts; viz. '*Isokratous Hapanta = Isocratis Scripta*' for the collected works of Isocrates, acquired in April 1658.<sup>103</sup>

Table 3. Percentage (%) all titles by language of publication and period of acquisition

|               | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1655–1700 |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| English       | 10.9      | 23.3      | 18.2      |
| Latin         | 83.4      | 69.3      | 75.2      |
| French        | 0.08      | 1.07      | 0.66      |
| Middle French | 0.08      | 0         | 0.03      |
| Romance       | 0         | 1.35      | 0.79      |
| Greek (Anc)   | 4.25      | 4.38      | 4.33      |
| Greek (Mod)   | 0.16      | 0.28      | 0.23      |
| Hebrew        | 0.55      | 0.22      | 0.36      |
| Italian       | 0.16      | 0.11      | 0.13      |
| Multiple      | 0.24      | 0         | 0.10      |

<sup>102</sup> Plato, *Platonos Hapanta Ta Sozomena* (Geneva: Henr. Stephanus, 1578).

<sup>103</sup> Isocrates, *Isokratous Hapanta* (Basileae: Ex officina Oporiniana, 1570).

Table 4. Number of titles acquired 1655–1661 with more than one language in the title page

| Latin, of which other + | Number acquired by 1661 |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Greek (Ancient)         | 44                      |
| Hebrew <sup>104</sup>   | 8                       |
| Arabic <sup>105</sup>   | 2                       |
| Persian <sup>106</sup>  | 1                       |

The Library's early acquisition of so many titles in multiple languages was clearly driven by an interest in this type of comparison of biblical texts and of the works of Latin and Greek classical authors. These titles, which set two languages against each other for the purposes of scholarly comparison, emphasise that the Library's earliest acquisitions were intended for daily use by the divines of Manchester. A further proof of this concern with the use of books in multiple languages comes from the next table, which again examines the Library's Latin acquisitions by looking for references to other languages in their title pages. As these titles were intended for reference and comparison between languages, the acquisitions underline the point that Chetham's Library was constituted as a scholarly reference library. A number of these works contain more than two languages, so the totals exceed the number of Latin titles that contain references to other languages:

The overall subject headings for the Library's acquisitions across the whole period are very difficult to determine accurately. Modern cataloguing techniques, such as the Library of Congress subject headings, which give multiple headings to individual titles, fall into the twin traps of anachronism and confusion by the imposition of modern subject headings onto titles that fit into many different headings. This book employs a set of subject headings generated from both intellectual categories and from the Library's original shelving structure, which sought to give an order to the Library's holdings in the seventeenth century. In 1684, the Librarian created the Library's earliest manuscript shelf-lists,

<sup>104</sup> Moses Maimonides, *Hilkhot Deot* (Amstelodami: Ioh. & Cornelium Blaeu, 1640).

<sup>105</sup> Antonius Giggeius, *Kanz Al-Lughah Al-'Arabiyah* (Mediolani: Ex Ambrosiani Collegij Typographia, 1632).

<sup>106</sup> Jerónimo Javier, *Dastan-I Masih* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Elseviriana, 1639).

Table 5. Number of Latin acquisitions 1655–1661  
whose titles refer to material in other languages

| Latin + language in title | 1655–1661 |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Greek (Ancient)           | 84        |
| Arabic                    | 20        |
| Hebrew                    | 74        |
| Chaldaic                  | 13        |
| Samaritan                 | 2         |
| Syriac                    | 10        |
| 'Pentaglotton'            | 1         |

which recorded each title according to its place on the shelves, and which was updated as books were moved around the shelves. This manuscript, as outlined in the discussion of the design of the Library, provided the eighteenth-century cataloguers with the basis for the first full printed catalogue, the *Bibliotheca Chethamensis Catalogus* of 1791, which listed titles by these headings.<sup>107</sup> Although this catalogue works both in intellectual and practical dimensions, it is far from perfect, not least because of the need to attribute a single subject heading to each title in the collection. As an exercise in cataloguing with these qualifications in place, the *Bibliotheca Chethamensis Catalogus* provides a basic framework for the analysis of the Library's holdings by subject.

It is from these basic definitions that general figures can be calculated about the overall shape of the Library's subject holdings during the period 1655–1661 and across the whole of the later seventeenth century. Inevitably for a library intended for the divines of Manchester, theology predominated before and after 1661, although the extent of the dominance of theological titles declines after 1661, with a concomitant growth in scientific and historical titles. The division of the collection into subject headings is an imprecise art that yields very little except a very general sense of how the collection developed over time. The size of a particular part of a collection is not necessarily any indication of its intellectual importance or its significance in the wider dynamics of the book trade and the reception of texts by early modern readers.

<sup>107</sup> Chetham's Library, *Bibliotheca Chethamensis* (Manchester: 6 vols, publishers vary from volume to volume, 1791).

Table 6. Percentage (%) acquisitions by subject headings from *Bibliotheca Chethamensis Catalogus*

|              | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | Overall Total |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| Theology     | 66        | 39        | 50            |
| Law          | 1         | 8         | 5             |
| History      | 15        | 25        | 21            |
| Science/Arts | 11        | 18        | 15            |
| Classics     | 6         | 10        | 8             |
| Mss.         | >1        | >1        | >1            |

Similarly fraught with difficulties is a breakdown of the geographical origins of the titles purchased by the Library during the seventeenth century. The first and most apparent flaw is that such an exercise involves the imposition of contemporary ‘nations’ onto a map of Europe in order to construct such a map, which brings with it the charge of anachronism. Secondly, many titles were published simultaneously in two places, so must be counted as having been published in both cities.<sup>108</sup> Some Continental titles were published simultaneously in two or more countries, such as the 1667 *Index librorum Prohibitorum*, which was published in Lyon, Madrid and Geneva, so must be counted as having been published in three or more countries.<sup>109</sup> Geographically multiple titles inevitably distort the overall view of the Library’s holdings, but they are small in number. Finally, there is no guarantee that the place claimed on the title page is the place at which a title was published, although Chetham’s Library acquired very few of the controversial, literary and pornographic titles that make up the majority of titles with false imprints in the early modern period. In the cases of titles with suspicious imprints, such as Pierre Nicole’s *Causa Janseniana*, published by the fictional ‘Pierre Marteau’, the real place of publication can be authenticated by reference to works such as Richard Sayce’s *Compositorial Practices and the Localization of Printed Books*, and Emil Weller’s *Falschen Und Fingierten Druckorte*.<sup>110</sup> The table below outlines

<sup>108</sup> Nicolas Malebranche, *Father Malebranche’s Treatise Concerning the Search after Truth* (Oxford and London: Thomas Bennet, 1694).

<sup>109</sup> Antonio Sotomayor, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Madrid: Didaci Diaz, 1667).

<sup>110</sup> Pierre Nicole, *Causa Janseniana* (Coloniae [in fact Amsterdam]: Apud Petrum Marteau, 1682); Richard Sayce, *Compositorial Practices and the Localization of Printed*



Table 7. Percentage (%) all titles by country of origin and period of acquisition<sup>111</sup>

| Country of Origin | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1655–1700 |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Austria           | 0.23      | 0.06      | 0.13      |
| Belgium           | 4.77      | 4.31      | 4.50      |
| Czech Republic    | 0.08      | 0.06      | 0.06      |
| Denmark           | 0         | 0.28      | 0.16      |
| England           | 18.0      | 32.9      | 26.7      |
| France            | 21.3      | 19.2      | 20.1      |
| Germany           | 21.1      | 15.5      | 17.8      |
| Hungary           | 0         | 0.06      | 0.03      |
| Ireland           | 0.16      | 0.28      | 0.23      |
| Italy             | 5.86      | 7.74      | 6.98      |
| Netherlands       | 8.68      | 13.1      | 11.3      |
| Poland            | 0.08      | 0.61      | 0.39      |
| Scotland          | 0.31      | 0.22      | 0.26      |
| Spain             | 0.93      | 0.28      | 0.55      |
| Sweden            | 0         | 0.17      | 0.10      |
| Switzerland       | 18.6      | 5.20      | 10.7      |
| 'Printed Abroad'  | 0.08      | 0         | 0.03      |

the Library's initial dependence upon Continental publishing and the transition towards a native English scholarly press towards the end of the century:

There is a real danger with this type of analysis of the Library's acquisitions. It is based upon twenty-first century political boundaries, and aside from the charge of anachronism, it brings with the charge that it perpetuates unduly 'national' readings of print culture and the history of the book. This book takes issues with 'national' descriptions of print culture, and argues against it in favour of a more flexible and porous understanding of readership and the book trade centred on the towns and cities of Europe. Consequently, far more instructive is what Andrew Pettegree has called a 'steel spine' model of European print culture, which lists the number of titles (more than eighty-five percent of the

*Books, 1530–1800* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1979); Emil Weller, *Die Falschen und fingierten druckorte Schriften* (New York: G. Olms, 1970).

<sup>111</sup> Figures may not equal 100% because of rounding.

total number of acquisitions) purchased by the Library from the major cities and printing houses of in early modern Europe.<sup>112</sup>

Table 8. Percentage (%) all titles by city of publication for acquisitions 1655–1700

| City               | % 1655–1700 |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Amsterdam          | 5.93        |
| Antwerp            | 3.76        |
| Basel              | 4.53        |
| Bologna            | 0.62        |
| Brussels           | 0.16        |
| Cambridge          | 1.04        |
| Cologne            | 2.95        |
| Edinburgh          | 0.19        |
| Franeker           | 0.42        |
| Frankfurt am Main  | 4.73        |
| Geneva             | 3.98        |
| Leiden             | 3.34        |
| Leipzig            | 1.13        |
| London             | 23.4        |
| Louvain            | 0.42        |
| Lyon               | 4.83        |
| Mainz              | 1.30        |
| Nuremberg          | 0.94        |
| Oxford             | 2.75        |
| Padua              | 0.39        |
| Paris              | 12.9        |
| Rome               | 2.27        |
| Rostock            | 0.58        |
| Rotterdam          | 0.52        |
| Strasbourg         | 0.52        |
| Utrecht            | 0.55        |
| Venice             | 3.14        |
| Wittenberg         | 0.87        |
| Zurich             | 1.91        |
| % all acquisitions | 90.1%       |

<sup>112</sup> Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), p. 104.

The resulting 'line of best fit' extends in a south-easterly direction from Oxford to the heel of Italy. These cities transcend the borders imposed by 'national histories of the book' in Britain and Europe, and emphasises the transnational character of the book trade in the early modern period. Moreover, the table underlines the importance in the early modern book trade of cities and city-states renowned for their political independence or religious freedoms, such as the Swiss cities, Amsterdam, Leiden and Venice. All of these cities were well represented in the Library's acquisitions throughout the century.

The most striking figure in this table is the number of titles printed in London. Although London imprints formed the largest single contributing city before and after 1661, they still form only a small percentage (23.4 percent) of the total number of titles acquired by the Library as a whole. More significantly, of the 723 titles published in London acquired by the Library, nearly 500 were in English, usually biblical commentaries or on topics of experimental science and history. The intellectual importance of the vernacular in these three areas was enormous. The English vernacular book trade played a vital role in the dissemination of knowledge in these areas, and gave strength to the intellectual disciplines of theology, history and experimental science in early modern England, as discussed throughout this book. Nevertheless, the statistics above do not give a full sense of the connections between the distribution and reception of texts at Chetham's Library, particularly relating to English vernacular scholarship, as they simply identify a number of different quantitative facts about the Library's holdings. The reception of texts at Chetham's Library was more complicated than initial statistics suggest.

### *The Choice of Bookseller*

This brief conspectus of the acquisitions cannot do justice to the variety of materials delivered to Chetham's Library between 1655 and 1700. What it has sought to do is to outline the fundamental principles that guided the trustees in the process of the selection of books for the Library, as well to engage critically with the problems involved in analysing how the Library was put together in so many different ways and by many different hands. This chapter has considered the acquisition, distribution and reception of books at Chetham's Library, with particular respect to the purchases made between 1655 and 1661. While throughout the seventeenth century the trustees were interested in

works of Continental theological scholarship in Latin and in large formats, books on other subjects, in other languages and formats, and with different places of publication came into the Library at different times and at different rates. Each of the individual trustees held quite different views of the Library's purpose and the titles that it should hold, and drew on a number of different influences in the creation and stocking of the Library. The material aspects of books, too, were a vital element in the trustees' choices, although many of the considerations that are important to the twenty-first century historian of the book were of little relevance to them, such as a title's provenance, binding or previous readers' engagements with their texts, provided that the Library was in possession of a copy of a rare or unusual work.

This book moves from the selection of texts to their distribution through the early modern British and Continental trade in books and other goods. From the evidence provided by the very detailed Accessions Register to outline the dynamics of the early modern British book trade, the next chapter considers the ways in which books were delivered to Chetham's Library during the seventeenth century, and uses the evidence to contribute to a number of unanswered questions about the workings of the trade in books and ideas between Manchester, London and the Continent in the later seventeenth century.

### CHAPTER III

## ROBERT LITTLEBURY AND THE SALE OF BOOKS

### *The Flow of Ideas: from the Thames to Amazon*

If historians of the modern book trade based their studies entirely upon evidence gleaned from the accounts of large bookshops such as Waterstone's or Amazon their incomplete work would distort the truth of the book trade, by an emphasis on 'novelty' and the popularity of a small number of bestselling authors. The twenty-first century book trade is far from the victory of the corporate giants, with their endless pursuit of new titles. It is in fact the triumph of the second-hand trade, revived by and now flourishing in the guise of ABE Books, the Amazon marketplace, eBay, charity shops and remainder shops and supermarkets. To take one example from the United Kingdom, the city of Lichfield in Staffordshire (population c. 30,000), the home of Samuel Johnson and the site of Michael Johnson's bookshop, no longer has a dedicated bookshop for newly published titles. There are, however, two remainder shops, a second-hand bookshop, more than a dozen charity shops with books on the shelves and a weekly second-hand book sale in a church hall. The trade in books is thus as much about the second-hand (or 'pre-owned') as the brand new; it is both a very local and inexpensive market and, through the Internet and credit card payments, a triumphantly globalised and international industry.

The mistake outlined at the start of the previous paragraph is the same error made by many historians of the early modern book trade. For them, the book trade was centred on the monopoly of the Stationers' Company and its production of new titles for sale at approved shops in London, Oxford, Cambridge and York.<sup>1</sup> Then, as now, libraries and scholars needed titles that were out of print or otherwise unavailable, so it was inevitable that there existed a large and profitable trade in second-hand books beyond the Stationers' Company. John Feather, in

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<sup>1</sup> Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 145.

his history of the provincial book trade, concerned with 'how people outside London obtained their books', relegates the second-hand book trade to a single reference on one page, leaving out a great deal of what buyers purchased and read.<sup>2</sup> Nor, again contrary to Feather, was the British book trade 'at a low ebb' in the 1650s.<sup>3</sup> As John Barnard points out, the flourishing book trade in the 1650s was in fact characterised by rapid innovation in the development of new genres and audiences.<sup>4</sup>

While the trade in newly-published books is a subject of wide study and historical debate, the second-hand book trade remains largely unexplored and unconsidered. James Raven devotes only three pages to it, and does not discuss the members of other livery companies (including, *inter alia*, the Haberdashers) as assessors and sellers of books, including their work in sales at auction after 1676.<sup>5</sup> Many of the most famous conceptual models of 'book history', including Robert Darnton's 'communications circuit', remain firmly focused on the trade in new books to the detriment of the second-hand trade. This focus inevitably skews our understanding of the much wider trade in older books and knowledge. Finally, just as today the acquisition and readership of books transcends international political boundaries, so it was in the seventeenth century with the importation of new and second-hand titles from Continental Europe. In an article in *The Book Collector* in 1989, David McKitterick argued that the study of the book trade 'must also absorb an admixture of appreciation of the nature of the relationship between domestic and overseas, new and old.'<sup>6</sup> Robert Littlebury's supply of Continental books to Chetham's Library makes the need to study this relationship all the more evident and important, and it prefigures how it should be described and understood. Readers made no distinction between new and old titles, and in a scholarly environment in which the basic texts were often a century or half a century old, it was inevitable that readers acquired such titles second-hand in ways outside the remit of the Stationers' Company. Studies of the book trade in this period need to expand upon the nature of the

<sup>2</sup> John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> John Barnard, 'London Publishing 1640–1660: Crisis, Continuity and Innovation', *Book History*, 4 (2001), p. 16

<sup>5</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> David McKitterick, 'Balancing the Record', *The Book Collector*, 38 (1989), p. 319.

second-hand trade. Moreover, with respect to McKitterick's notion of the relationship 'between domestic and overseas', in which the book trade has been seen as hermetically sealed within the framework of the 'British' book trade, the titles purchased by Chetham's Library show how the book trade was firmly international, and at times reciprocal, in scope. Much more can still be made of the interaction between metropolis and provinces, and nation to nation, in the book trade in this and every other period.<sup>7</sup>

Robert Littlebury had to work very hard to build up trust and a reputation for professional competence with his customers, and it is important to reflect on the customer loyalty represented by the Library sticking with the same London bookseller for just under forty years. The interaction between Robert Littlebury and Nicholas Stratford, trustee of Chetham's Library in Manchester in the 1670s, demonstrates reciprocity in the exchange of goods and ideas in this period.<sup>8</sup> How Littlebury built up and retained these relationships needs to be added to the historical understanding of the book trade. This chapter addresses these issues by exploring and describing the acquisition, sale and distribution of books and other goods by Chetham's Library between 1655 and 1700.

### *The London Book Trade in the 1650s*

The Manchester book trade was unable to meet either the Library's second-hand or its Continental scholarly needs. The contribution of the Manchester bookseller Mordechai Moxon in this period was confined to the supply of new English-language religious publications, so the London trade was essential to supply what the Library trustees wanted. Faced with the rather daunting task of stocking the Library, the trustees turned, like all other provincial buyers, to the London second-hand book trade. For ease of accounting and to avoid unnecessary duplication of titles, and like many other provincial buyers in this period such as John Coffin in Exeter, the trustees used a single bookseller to acquire and dispatch all of the material for the Library, including globes, maps and manuscripts.

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<sup>7</sup> John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The English Provinces' in *CHBB* IV, p. 665.

<sup>8</sup> Henry D. Rack, 'Stratford, Nicholas'.

In the seventeenth century, the book trade was a pre-industrial activity, with a clear line of descent from the guild-dominated crafts and trade of the sixteenth century. Although the Stationers' Company held the monopoly on the production and dissemination of new books in England until 1695, they had no such power over the second-hand trade in books.<sup>9</sup> In 1628, the Warden of the Stationers' Company had compiled a list of thirty-eight booksellers who dealt with 'old libraries', second-hand books and books from the Continent, selected and imported from Europe.<sup>10</sup> This number had grown considerably by 1650, and many of these booksellers operated outside the remit of the Stationers' Company. In 1684 it was recorded that booksellers were members of thirteen other livery companies. Members of other livery companies were probably better qualified to sell second-hand books than Stationers. Giles Mandelbrote has pointed out that the Haberdashers were well known for their skills in the valuation of goods *post mortem*, essential qualities in the dispersal of the libraries of the recently deceased.<sup>11</sup> So it was that the trustees, acting on Richard Johnson's advice, opted for the Haberdasher-bookseller Robert Littlebury, 'at the sign of the Unicorn in Little Britain', a second-hand book dealer, an active importer of books from Continental Europe and specialist in scientific books.<sup>12</sup>

Robert Littlebury was born in the parish of St Botolph, Colchester in Essex in October 1622, the only child of the fishmonger Robert Littlebury and his wife Jane.<sup>13</sup> Littlebury senior was a prosperous land-owner, and was able to send his son to the local grammar school, where Littlebury junior was taught by the schoolmaster and publisher William Dugard.<sup>14</sup> Dugard, who left Colchester in 1637 to become Master of the Merchant Taylors' School, had a dual career as an eminent school-master and as a printer, including a period as a consultant to the

<sup>9</sup> Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', in *CHBB* IV, p. 145.

<sup>10</sup> *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)* Vol. 1, 1629–31, p. 306.

<sup>11</sup> Giles Mandelbrote, 'Workplaces and living spaces: London book trade inventories of the late seventeenth century', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the sixteenth century* (London and New Castle: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2003), p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> John Doughtie, *Velitationes Polemicae* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1652).

<sup>13</sup> Christened 22 October 1622, Parish Register for St Botolph Parish Church, Colchester.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Acland, *Register of the Scholars Admitted to Colchester School, 1637–1740* (Colchester: Essex Archaeological Society, 1892), p. 5.



Stationers' Company on their range of Greek and Latin textbooks.<sup>15</sup> Under Dugard, Colchester Grammar School had a reputation for high academic standards, and it was there that Littlebury learned Latin and French, a subject that Dugard encouraged.<sup>16</sup> French was particularly valuable in the book trade, as it enabled Littlebury to correspond with Continental publishers on the Library's behalf, and to produce at least two extensive catalogues in Latin and French in the 1670s.<sup>17</sup> It was probably through Dugard that Littlebury was apprenticed in 1640 to the Haberdasher and second-hand bookseller Lawrence Sadler.<sup>18</sup> Sadler, 'at the Golden Lion in Little Britain', published titles printed by Dugard during the 1640s, and Littlebury was freed by Sadler into the Haberdashers' in 1647.<sup>19</sup> Unlike many of his contemporaries apprenticed in one trade and working in another, who transferred their allegiance to the new company, Littlebury retained membership of the Haberdashers' Company throughout his life.

A man of 'composed and serious countenance', Littlebury kept a shop first at the 'sign of the Unicorn', and then the King's Arms in Little Britain.<sup>20</sup> Even before his freedom into the Haberdashers Company, Littlebury had a reputation for competence and trustworthiness. Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge between 1637 and 1643, identified Littlebury as a trustworthy supplier in the early 1640s.<sup>21</sup> Between 1655 and 1695, Littlebury served personal and institutional customers in London and the provinces. In London, his customers included William Sancroft, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, the philosopher John Locke, the scientist Robert Hooke and the Dutch commentator Adrian Beverland; in the provinces, they included the lexicographer Edmund Castell at Cambridge, the Dean of Norwich Herbert Astley<sup>22</sup>, Norwich City Library, a number of Essex

<sup>15</sup> W. R. Meyer, 'Dugard, William (1606–62)', ODNB.

<sup>16</sup> Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 180.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Littlebury, *Catalogus Librorum Ex Gallia* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1676); Robert Littlebury, *Catalogue Des Livres François* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1678).

<sup>18</sup> London Guildhall Library, Haberdashers Binding Book. MS GL 15860 Vol. 5: April 1640.

<sup>19</sup> John Gregory, *Gregorii Posthuma* (London: Laurence Sadler, 1650).

<sup>20</sup> John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton* (London: S. Malthus, 1705), p. 338.

<sup>21</sup> J.C.T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A History: from the beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 309.

<sup>22</sup> Amos Calvin Miller, 'Herbert Astley, Dean of Norwich, "A Man of Good Comfortable Spirit"', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 38 (1982), p. 167.

divines, and the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford. The most famous of Littlebury's London customers was Robert Hooke, who visited Littlebury's shop on a number of occasions in the 1670s.<sup>23</sup> On 19 October 1675, Hooke recorded in his Diary that he had been to Littlebury's shop on no fewer than three occasions in a single day, where on one visit he met the famous physician and book collector Sir Charles Scarborough. Littlebury's shop was the place to go for scientific texts; Scarborough's library included a large number of scientific and mathematical titles from the Continent, so a London bookseller and Continental importer like Littlebury was an obvious port of call for such a title.<sup>24</sup>

Littlebury's shop was the place to go for rare books. In 1675, Robert Hooke damned Littlebury as a 'dogg' when Littlebury sold a copy of '*Polyplice*' for three shillings before Hooke could get his hands on it.<sup>25</sup> In 1688, Adrian Beverland, the Dutch lawyer and commentator living in London bought a copy of Antonio Agustín's 1587 work *Dialogos De Medallas* for fifty shillings, which he then inscribed 'Hic liber est omnium rarissimus' on the flyleaf.<sup>26</sup> To be engaged to supply books to Chetham's Library in the mid-1650s was quite a coup. There is no direct evidence to explain why the Library trustees selected Littlebury for the task. Either Richard Johnson asked Littlebury to supply Bibles to the Middle Temple Church 'in severall learned languages', or Johnson was another of Littlebury's many customers at the shop in Little Britain. Whatever the circumstances surrounding the choice of Littlebury, he came highly recommended, and the trustees had selected well. By 1695, Littlebury had built a reputation as a major importer of books from the Continent, and established himself as an authority on the trade whom customers consulted and with whom other booksellers and publishers collaborated.

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<sup>23</sup> London Guildhall Library, Haberdashers Book of Freedoms. MS GL 15859 Vol. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Scarborough, *Bibliotheca Mathematica & Medica Scarburghiana* (London: n.p., 1695).

<sup>25</sup> Hooke, 13 December 1675. The '*Polyplice*' was probably Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Veneto: A. Manutii, 1499).

<sup>26</sup> Antonio Agustín, *Dialogos De Medallas, Incripciones Y Otras Antigüedades* (Tarragona: F. Mey, 1587); James P. R. Lyell, *Notes on Early Book-Illustration in Spain* (Oxford University Press: London, 1925), p. 238.

*Robert Littlebury and the Acquisition of Second-Hand Books*

Littlebury's business, conducted through his shop and by correspondence with his provincial customers, relied on his ability to source the best titles and editions available in three ways. First, he obtained books through *post mortem* valuation and auction. Second, he imported new and second-hand Continental books into London from Europe. Third, he bought books from his numerous personal and professional contacts within the trade in Britain and the Continent. How Littlebury acquired and distributed books for the Library changed over time, particularly as a result of the growing auction market in books after 1676 and in his personal contacts with Continental publishers and importers.

The most common way to acquire material was by using the skills characteristic of the Haberdashers' Company, namely the valuation and dispersal of estates *post mortem*. Several of Littlebury's catalogues of *post mortem* sales exist in ESTC, including the 1680 sale of the extensive library of William Ducie, first Viscount Downe, although none of Downe's books came to Manchester.<sup>27</sup> Importantly, Littlebury's valuation activities were not confined to London, but spread out into the provinces. In September 1668, Littlebury reported to William Sancroft that:

This last week I was in Cambridgeshire to buy a Gentleman's small library, drawn thither by the importuning of a friend, the most of them English Chronicles and History – if I find anything of them not ordinary I shall reserve them for you.<sup>28</sup>

The library in question was probably that of Thomas Cater of Papworth St Agnes, a friend of the Manchester divine John Worthington. Cater had died earlier in the year, but there is no evidence that any of Cater's books came to Chetham's Library.<sup>29</sup> In conjunction with Littlebury's correspondence, bindings and the signatures of former owners on title pages allow for the formulation of lists of former owners, and outlines

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<sup>27</sup> William Ducie, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Illustrissimi Domini Gulielmi Ducie* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1680).

<sup>28</sup> Robert Littlebury to William Sancroft, 29 September 1668, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 314.

<sup>29</sup> Worthington, pp. 223, 303.

how and from whom Littlebury acquired stock now held at the Library. For example, the second book in the delivery of August 1655, the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, has the inscription 'Ex dono Gulielmi Pickeringe xijj October A<sup>nno</sup> d<sup>ni</sup> 1635' on the title pages of both volumes, although very little is known about William Pickering except for this signature. Nonetheless, three volumes delivered by Littlebury have the signature of their former owner, John Whyte, with the inscription on the title page 'Si non hodie quando: io. Whyte'.<sup>30</sup> Whyte (1570–1615), Vicar of Eccles and briefly fellow of the Collegiate Church, was a well-known anti-Catholic polemicist, whose motto appears in a number of books, including some in Cambridge University Library. There were a variety of second-hand titles from the Continent with personal inscriptions that ended up at Chetham's Library, including a copy of the 1572 Estienne *Thesaurus Tes Hellenikes Glosses*, which had the inscription of Jacques Cappel, sieur du Tilloy (1529–1586) on its title page.<sup>31</sup> More specifically, there is direct evidence of Littlebury's valuation and resale in readers' marks in the Library's acquisitions. One of the most obvious examples of this is in Littlebury's personal and professional connections with William Dugard. In 1662, Littlebury was employed to value the estate of his late schoolmaster and publishing colleague, for which he was paid the sum of 'five pounds for the purchase of mourning rings'.<sup>32</sup> Littlebury sold Dugard's copy of Fernel's *Universa Medicina* to Chetham's Library, and the title page of the Library's copy contains Dugard's signature.<sup>33</sup>

What former owners wrote in their books can help to trace Littlebury's trade activities. Furthermore, the extant bindings provide a great deal of evidence about the book trade in this period. Some evidence of contemporary binding remains, including books with bindings characteristic of the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. Their presence in the deliveries suggests that the books were read by undergraduates at the universities for their study and that they were eventually sold on to solve a financial crisis or after the owner's death.

<sup>30</sup> A. Holt White, 'White Family', *Notes and Queries* (1858), p. 111; David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History* (London: The British Library, 1997), p. 36.

<sup>31</sup> Henri Estienne, *Thesaurus Tes Hellenikes Glosses* = *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Geneva: Excudebat Henr. Stephanus, 1572).

<sup>32</sup> National Archives, London, PRO, PROB 11/309, f. 358, cited in Leona Rostenberg, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551–1700: Twelve Studies* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), p. 158.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Fernel, *Vniuersa Medicina* (Hanover: Marnii & consortum, 1610).

A 1551 copy of Pierre Crabbe's *Conciliorum Omnium* has characteristically seventeenth-century Oxford binding, while the Library's copy of John Downe's *Certaine Treatises* has full calf binding, with blind-tooled triple fillet borders and 'Oxford' corners.<sup>34</sup> From Cambridge, the 1558 Basel edition of St John Chrysostom, purchased in September 1655, is bound in blind-tooled centrepiece binding from around 1575 to 1585 associated with the workshop of John Sheres of Cambridge.<sup>35</sup> Sadly, of the books that remain in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Oxford and Cambridge bindings, only James Pilkington's 1533 copy of Jerome has the name of a former owner and university-characteristic binding. Historians are thus deprived of much evidence about binding in the university towns and their sale through the trade in the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup>

Fortunately, one particular example of binding provides an example of the provenance of the Library's holdings and an insight into Littlebury's trade activities. Delivered in 1665 at a cost of thirteen shillings, the collected works of Arcudius is bound in the armorial binding of its former owner, William Kerr, third Earl of Lothian (1605–1675).<sup>37</sup> Kerr, who had served as Secretary of State between 1649 and 1662, had refused to abjure the Covenant in 1662, and in 1665 was fined £6000.<sup>38</sup> Unable to pay, Kerr sold off Ancram House, the family seat, and its library of 1361 books. Littlebury did not value Kerr's estate after death, but rather purchased books from a second-hand dealer brought in to value and sell on the estate to raise cash. When sold, Kerr's library would have been a source of great interest in the trade, and Littlebury took full advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves.

The methods of acquisition and sale of second-hand stock changed between 1655 and 1700, particularly because of the rise of sale by auction in the 1670s.<sup>39</sup> The idea of sale by auction came from Holland, where books had been auctioned for nearly a century. Starting with only one in 1676, numbers had reached around thirty a year by 1687,

<sup>34</sup> John Downe, *Certaine Treatises* (Oxford: Edward Forrest, 1633).

<sup>35</sup> John Chrysostom, *Opera Omnia* (Basileae: Hieronymum Frobenium, 1558).

<sup>36</sup> Jerome, *Opera Omnia* (Parisiis: Claudium Chevallonium, 1533).

<sup>37</sup> Petrus Arcudius, *Breuem Totius Operis* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1626). Cyril Davenport, *English Heraldic Book-Stamps* (London: Archibald Constable, 1909), p. 261.

<sup>38</sup> John Coffey, 'Kerr, William, third earl of Lothian (c.1605–1675)', *ODNB*.

<sup>39</sup> John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Elliot Stock, 1906).

many taking place in the new coffee-houses.<sup>40</sup> Robert Hooke was an aficionado of the auction scene. He often read the catalogues in advance, and visited up to four auctions a day, although he frequently complained that the process of auctioning meant that books were 'all too dear by half'.<sup>41</sup> The first evidence of sales by auction appears in 1676 at William Cooper's shop in Warwick Lane, which disposed of the Library of Dr Lazarus Seaman, and generated the first known English book auction catalogue.<sup>42</sup> Auctions were an effective tool for selling books and for being seen to buy books. Richard Lapthorne frequently reported buying books for John Coffin at auctions, including ones administered by Littlebury's professional colleague Robert Scott and Littlebury's former apprentice Moses Pitt.<sup>43</sup> Given his position in the trade and his connections to other auctioneers, Littlebury presumably acquired books for the Library through sales at auction, although he does not refer to buying at auction in his correspondence, and he does not appear as a valuer or seller in Munby and Coral's catalogue of sales by catalogue or in John Lawler's catalogue of auctions.<sup>44</sup> The only remaining evidence in which Littlebury appears in relation to auctions and coffee-houses is the auction of his own stock after his death in 1695, sold by John Bullord 'at Tom's Coffee-House' near Ludgate, which the bookseller John Bagford promised to attend on Samuel Pepys' behalf.<sup>45</sup>

A member of the Haberdashers' Company and an expert in the valuation of stock after the deaths of its owners, Littlebury operated a profitable business in the sale of second-hand books. His work, albeit described very briefly here, shows that there were few distinctions between livery companies in the second-hand book trade, and that the second-hand trade should be studied and understood as an extensive, professionally inclusive and profitable enterprise.

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<sup>40</sup> Frank Herrmann, 'Emergence of the Book Auctioneer as a Professional', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Property of a Gentleman* (Winchester: St Paul's, 1991), p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, p. 135.

<sup>42</sup> Lazarus Seaman, *Catalogus Variorum Lazari Seaman* (London: Edward Brewster & William Cooper, 1676).

<sup>43</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 4 March 1688.

<sup>44</sup> A. N. L. Munby and Lenore Coral, *British Book Sale Catalogues 1676-1800* (London: Mansell, 1977).

<sup>45</sup> John Bullord, *Bibliopolii Littleburiani* (London: John Bullord, 1697); John Lawler, *Book Auctions*, p. 180; Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription* (London: G. Bell, 1970). 16 March 1697.

*Robert Littlebury and the Latin Trade*

Littlebury's next major source of stock was through the Continental book trade, known at the time as the 'Latin trade'. The English book trade lacked high-quality academic presses comparable in quality to the Plantin or Aldine presses in Antwerp and Venice, partly because there was no papermaking industry to supply the trade.<sup>46</sup> The acquisition of books, new and second-hand, was essential for scholarly life in Britain in this period. Despite Robert Darnton's assertion that 'by its very nature the history of books must be international in scale and interdisciplinary in method',<sup>47</sup> most research in the history of the book, particularly in the history of the second-hand and continental book in Britain has been genuinely neither, ignoring the size and European scope of the import trade for institutions through Littlebury for Chetham's Library. Darnton urges historians of textual culture to 'study concrete problems in a comparative manner' that cuts across the boundaries of the nation-state in order to do justice to an object of study that is 'international by nature'. It is crucial to place the history of the titles in Chetham's Library in the context of a much wider pan-European trade. The international trade was outside the cartel of the English Stationers' Company. This is in spite of Graham Pollard's dictum that the Latin trade was in the hands of foreigners who were Brothers, and after 1600, Freeman, of the Stationers' Company.<sup>48</sup> Born in Essex, Littlebury was not a Stationer, and nor were his two heirs, Moses Pitt and Samuel Smith, who supplied books to Littlebury and to the Library itself. Robert Littlebury's trade with Europe was genuinely international, conducted in English, French and Latin with French, Swiss and Dutch publishers and importers.

Littlebury acquired books from Europe as an importer in his own right, and through a network of agents and collaborators, including Smith, Pitt and his own son Isaac. In correspondence with the Library, Littlebury frequently reported to the trustees on the quality and price of the imported books he supplied, including a letter in August 1683 that claimed 'the most of them...are such as come lately from beyond

<sup>46</sup> Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', p. 141.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', p. 135.

<sup>48</sup> Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, p. 85.



the sea, at noe small charge...I expect many from France daily.<sup>49</sup> The imported titles were a mixture of new and second-hand volumes, although Littlebury sought to emphasise both the novelty and cost of the new titles. In a letter to the Library in 1684 Littlebury informed the trustees that he had recently received Bonetus' *Medicina Septentrionalis* from the Chouët publishing house in Geneva, which he supplied 'because the rest of his Workes are in the Library'.<sup>50</sup>

Littlebury imported books from France, Switzerland and Italy, and much of his import business was undertaken through Rotterdam and Amsterdam, the major cities from which books were imported through Maldon into London in this period. Littlebury appears in the accounts book for 1681 of Daniel Elsevier, the Amsterdam publisher, to whom Littlebury owed money, although he owed considerably less money than his ambitious (and ultimately bankrupt) apprentice Moses Pitt.<sup>51</sup> The Port Books, which recorded imports by denizens of London from Christmas 1681 to Christmas 1682, is a particularly rich resource for the study of the Continental trade, recording as it does Littlebury's extensive despatch of books from Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Working from Julian Roberts' study of the Port Books, although they do not identify the individual volumes supplied in each shipment, the combined weights of each importer's collected deliveries each year is notable. Littlebury's significance as an importer from the Continent throughout this period is underlined by the fact that, as Roberts points out, Littlebury's and George Wells' collective imports were considerably heavier than Smith's own imports for the year.<sup>52</sup> The Continental Latin trade was not without its risks. Importers become mired in debt to the Continental houses, and travel abroad brought with it the danger of disease. As Richard Smyth noted of Robert Littlebury's apprentice master in August 1663, 'Mr Laurence Sadler, bookseller, died at ye Hague of ye plague'.<sup>53</sup>

Samuel Smith, Littlebury's 'grand-apprentice', imported books on Littlebury's behalf and for his own trade with Chetham's Library, which

<sup>49</sup> Invoices, 9 August 1683, f. 43r.

<sup>50</sup> Invoices, 19 September 1684, f. 45v; 26 September 1684, f. 46r.

<sup>51</sup> Isabelle Henriette van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1960), Vol. III, pp. 111-19.

<sup>52</sup> National Archives, London PRO E.190/116/1, cited in Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', p. 171.

<sup>53</sup> Richard Smyth, *The Obituary of Richard Smyth* (London: Camden society, 1849), 2 August 1663.



was generally focused on the deliveries of scientific texts after 1682.<sup>54</sup> Smith's correspondence with the Dutch publishers Janssonius van Waesberge and Henricus Wetstein on Littlebury's behalf provides a tantalising insight into both the names of some of the books that Littlebury procured and the ships on which they travelled. In December 1690, Waesberge commented to Smith that he had volumes of the *Acta Eruditorum* to send to Littlebury, volumes that were delivered to Chetham's Library in 1691 and 1692; Littlebury had advertised the *Acta Eruditorum* in the *Term Catalogue* of December 1686.<sup>55</sup> In July 1690, Waesberge advised Smith to tell Littlebury that Captain Schacht's ship ('nauta Schact') was arriving in London soon.<sup>56</sup> To continue the connection with the *Acta Eruditorum*, on one occasion, Otto Mencken, publisher of the *Acta Eruditorum*, commented in 1687 that he had (an unidentified) 'petit paquet pour Mr. Littlebury qu'aurez la bonté de luy faire rendre'.<sup>57</sup> Despite the lack of detailed archival evidence in the case of the 'petit paquet', both Smith and Littlebury supplied a number of titles printed by Waesberge and Wetstein across a range of subjects until the end of the century, including medical texts by Willis, Peyer and Sydenham and the collected works of Jacobus Arminius.

Littlebury's Continental trade attracted eminent customers. In May 1680, John Locke turned to Robert Littlebury ('Littlebury père') to obtain a copy of Nicolas Toinard's 'Harmony of the Book of Chronicles', which Littlebury was about to deliver from France.<sup>58</sup> Locke noted that Littlebury's son had recently returned from France. Isaac Littlebury (1656–1710) was Robert's eldest surviving son by his first wife, Frances Townlow, who had died in March 1662.<sup>59</sup> Isaac had followed his father into the book trade, and acquired a reputation as a translator and importer of foreign titles: Robert Hooke noted rather sceptically that Littlebury had promised to send to Paris for any books that might interest him.<sup>60</sup> Isaac acted as his father's agent in Paris for a time, and

<sup>54</sup> Marja Smolenaars and Ann Veenhoff, 'Smith, Samuel (*bap.* 1658, *d.* 1707)', *ODNB*.

<sup>55</sup> Janssonius van Waesberge to Samuel Smith, 2 December 1690, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson letters 114.

<sup>56</sup> Janssonius van Waesberge to Samuel Smith, 12 July 1690, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson letters 114.

<sup>57</sup> Otto Mencken to Samuel Smith, Undated 1687. Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson letters 114.

<sup>58</sup> *Locke*, letter 538, 20 May 1680.

<sup>59</sup> *Obituary of Richard Smyth*, 16 March 1662.

<sup>60</sup> *Hooke*, 19 October 1675.

helped to procure a number of French books for sale in London. A tantalising hint of his work comes from the diaries of two German students from the 1680s. Christoph and Andreas Arnold noted that a 'travelling bookseller from England', a Mr Littlebury, recently passed through Nuremberg on his way to Italy. Andreas Arnold mentioned Isaac Littlebury in a letter to Isaac Vossius in June 1683, when Arnold sought to send Vossius a Latin edition of Rauwulf's *Itinerarium*.<sup>61</sup> Isaac Littlebury's visit to Italy in the early 1680s corresponds to a growth in the number of titles published in Italian cities that were delivered to the Library, including a large number of recently published scientific works. Littlebury's ongoing connection with Italian publishers is corroborated by the note in his own post-mortem catalogue that states of the titles 'Many Lately Brought over from Italy'.<sup>62</sup>

Booksellers sold more than just books; they were part of a system of exchange that included correspondence, gossip, news and other sundry items. In this respect, Littlebury was also a good source of ecclesiastical news. In a letter to William Sancroft in late September 1668 (the same one in which he refers to visiting John Cater's library), Littlebury added a juicy piece of gossip:

It is this day reported ye Deane Wilkins hath kist the King's hand for Chester, After much contest about it, but the Duke of B: was his great friend.

With ye humble service of my wife and selfe, I remain sir, your most faithful servant, Robert Littlebury.

London, September 29th 1668.<sup>63</sup>

The Wilkins to which Littlebury refers here is John Wilkins (1614–1672), who became Bishop of Chester in late 1668 in the interest of the Duke of Buckingham (the Duke of B). Wilkins' reputation among the high-church party had been damaged by the rejection, in February 1668, of parliamentary proposals for the comprehension of dissenters, but clearly by the end of the year he was back in favour. Sadly, however, there is no record of Chetham's Library ever having received a piece of

<sup>61</sup> Frans Blom, *Christoph and Andreas Arnold and England: the Travels and Book-collections of two seventeenth-century Nurembergers* (Nürnberg: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, 1982), p. 102, p. 149; Leonhard Rauwolff, *Leonis Flaminii Itinerarium Per Palæstinam* (Rotenburg: bey N. von Millenau, 1682).

<sup>62</sup> John Bullord, *Bibliopolii Littleburiani Whereof Many Lately Brought over from Italy* (London: John Bullord, 1697).

<sup>63</sup> Robert Littlebury to William Sancroft, September 29th 1668, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 314.

correspondence with similar information and opinion. In the same vein, both Robert and Isaac Littlebury acted as postal agents for their customers. In a letter to Locke in May 1680, the French Huguenot scholar Henry Justel noted that 'Mr Littlebury qui vous rendra ceste lettre vous dira de nos nouvelles'.<sup>64</sup> A day later, Locke's cousin Anne Grigg took advantage of Littlebury's trade in France by writing to Locke in the expectation that Isaac Littlebury would deliver the letter to Locke in Paris.<sup>65</sup> Unlike William Boothby, who in May 1684 asked his London bookseller to send him some 'of the best though deare', there is no evidence that Littlebury was ever asked to procure tea for Chetham's Library.<sup>66</sup>

Catalogues were a relatively new and effective means for booksellers to advertise what they had in stock, and provincial buyers such as Chetham's Library were able to take advantage of the information provided. Robert Littlebury's two extant sale catalogues, of 1676 (in Latin) and 1678 (in French), which list books imported from France 'et alisque Locis', and from which Nicholas Stratford ordered Blondel's *De la Primauté en l'église*, presumably owe their publication to Isaac's work for his father in France in the mid-1670s.<sup>67</sup> Robert Hooke noted seeing a third catalogue in December 1675, although whether this was another catalogue or simply an early version of the 1676 catalogue is unclear. Unlike William London's *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books*, Littlebury's catalogue used only short titles to list the available material.<sup>68</sup>

It is a testament to Littlebury's skill and knowledge as a Continental importer that the eminent divines John Pearson and William Lloyd, whom Littlebury described as being 'great masters of learning and books', were prepared to turn to Littlebury for £64 10s. 6d. of newly published Continental titles that were supplied to Chetham's Library in September 1684.<sup>69</sup> Littlebury's importation of titles from the Continent, the historical understanding of the import trade needs to be revised, in its practitioners, its considerable size and its international dimensions. The history of the trade furnished by Littlebury's supply to

<sup>64</sup> Locke, letter 534, 21 May 1680.

<sup>65</sup> Locke, letter 535, 22 May 1680.

<sup>66</sup> Peter Beal, 'My Books Are The Great Joy of My Life', *The Book Collector*, 46 (1997), p. 355.

<sup>67</sup> Archer Taylor, *Book Catalogues: Their Varieties and Uses*, p. 72.

<sup>68</sup> William London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*, passim.

<sup>69</sup> Accessions, 24 July 1684, f. 2r.

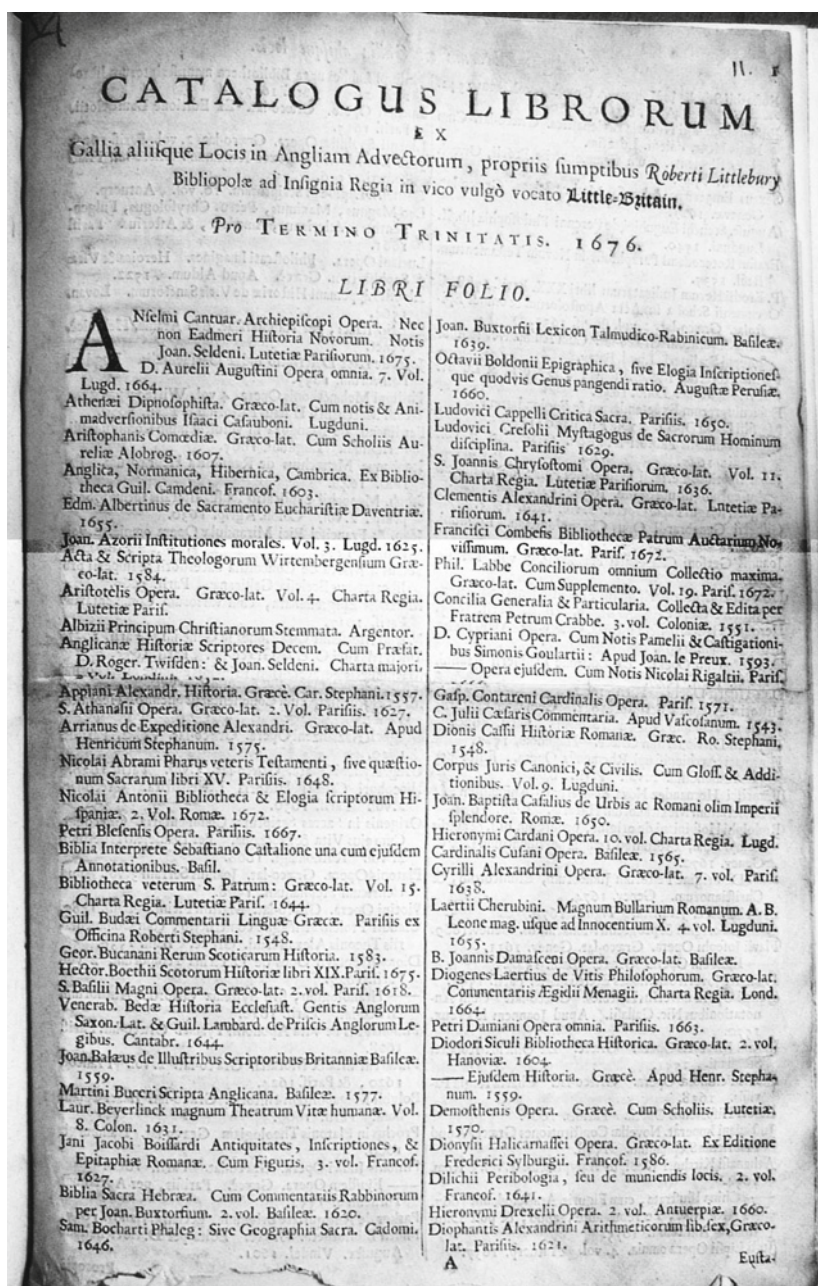


Figure 13. Title page, Robert Littlebury, *Catalogus Librorum ex Gallia Aliisque Locis*. [Reproduced with thanks from the copy held at Lincoln Cathedral Library].

Chetham's Library reinforces the need to break out of the 'national' boundaries imposed by previous scholarship in favour of a 'European' model that acknowledges the scholarly and trade connections between Britain and Europe in this period.

*Robert Littlebury as a Publisher*

Although during the early years of the Library's history, Littlebury supplied very few newly published titles, he was at the centre of a bookselling and publishing community that involved encompassed publishers inside and outside the Stationers' Company. Customers visited his shop to seek his advice on specific titles, and Littlebury's customers even invited judicial interest. Before he fled to the Netherlands and France in 1663, the nonconformist minister Stephen Charnock had his correspondence redirected to Littlebury's shop.<sup>70</sup> When asked by the authorities where his elusive customer had gone, Littlebury was forced to admit that Charnock had received 'an overture to go beyond seas'.<sup>71</sup> A small-scale publisher, Littlebury had shares in a number of scientific works, religious tracts, catalogues and travel books, and collaborated with a number of other booksellers in joint publishing ventures and congers, including Robert Scott, Henry Oldenburg and George Wells. In the same vein as Stephen Charnock, divines who had gravitated to London after being deprived of their benefices formed a considerable part of Littlebury's clientele from the 1650s onwards. Richard Johnson, instrumental in building up Chetham's Library, had fled to London after the deprivation of his fellowship at Manchester Collegiate Church in 1646. Francis Tallents, published by Littlebury in 1685, had been ejected from his parish in Shrewsbury at the Restoration; the Puritan minister Giles Firmin, whose works Littlebury published in the 1650s, was similarly deprived in 1662.<sup>72</sup> Littlebury was involved in publishing the work of more senior clerics, including Thomas Comber, who later became Dean of Durham.<sup>73</sup> For simple reasons of cost, Littlebury published very few works on his own, and those that he did tended to be small-format brief sermons and tracts, including

<sup>70</sup> Richard L. Greaves, 'Charnock, Stephen (1628–80)', *ODNB*.

<sup>71</sup> *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1663–4, f. 177.

<sup>72</sup> N. H. Keeble, 'Firmin, Giles (1613/14–97)', *ODNB*.

<sup>73</sup> Andrew M. Coleby, 'Comber, Thomas (1645–99)', *ODNB*.



tracts by John Doughtie and Giles Firmin.<sup>74</sup> Despite Littlebury's considerable work as a publisher, very few of the titles in which he had a hand were recorded as having been delivered to the Library between 1655 and 1700, although copies might have been available to the Library trustees for the purposes of consultation. Indeed, works by clergymen formerly associated with Chetham's Library were not recorded as having been delivered. The Library's copy of Nicholas Stratford's 1681 *Sermon at Chester Assizes* came from the collection of the Derbyshire book collector William Boothby, which came to the Library in the eighteenth century.

East Anglia played a large part in Littlebury's professional and personal life, presumably as a result of his background in Colchester. In 1653, he collaborated with the Ipswich bookseller William Weekly in the production of a quarto edition of a sermon by the Ipswich clergyman Matthew Lawrence.<sup>75</sup> Giles Firmin, whose *A Sober Reply to the Sober Answer of Reverend Mr. Cawdrey* Littlebury had published in 1653, was at the time of publication the vicar of Shalford, Essex.<sup>76</sup> Littlebury valued Thomas Cater's library in Papworth St Agnes, and referred to it in correspondence with John Worthington and William Sancroft.<sup>77</sup> Littlebury was not averse to controversy in his publication of works from Essex. In 1667, Littlebury published a royalist tract on monarchical authority, given by 'F.T... One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace' at the Quarter Sessions at Ipswich in the same year.<sup>78</sup> In an address to the reader on the second page, Littlebury explained that 'several sober and judicious persons' had sought the publication of the address, although he was unforthcoming about the identity of the author of the work.

Given that Littlebury acted as the Library's link with the book trade, he dealt with specialist dealers, including the legal bookseller John

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<sup>74</sup> Giles Firmin, *A Sober Reply to the Sober Answer of Reverend Mr. Cawdrey* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1653).

<sup>75</sup> Matthew Lawrence, *The Use and Practice of Faith* (London and Ipswich: William Weekly & Robert Littlebury, 1657).

<sup>76</sup> Giles Firmin to Richard Baxter, 24 July 1654, in N. H. Keeble and Geoffrey F. Nuttall (eds.), *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 192–93.

<sup>77</sup> Worthington, p. 303.

<sup>78</sup> Sir Francis Theobald, *A Discourse Concerning the Basis and Original of Government* (London: Robert Littlebury, 1667), p. 2.

Starkey, who founded *Mercurius Librarius*, which later became the *Term Catalogues*.<sup>79</sup> Starkey provided Chetham's Library with a set of law books in 1665, and Littlebury collaborated with Starkey on an edition of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's *Six Voyages*.<sup>80</sup> Many of the 'new' titles the Library acquired were published by Littlebury's collaborators, including Moses Pitt, who had been apprenticed to Littlebury in 1654, and Samuel Smith, was apprenticed to Pitt in 1675. Littlebury thus became the *paterfamilias* of a line of publishers and booksellers that supports Adrian Johns' claim that publishing in the seventeenth century ran in dynastic (family and non-family) lines.<sup>81</sup> Moses Pitt attempted, through the support of several fellows of the Royal Society, to publish a twelve-volume *Atlas*, although it was the main reason for his bankruptcy and downfall; the Library was able to buy only the four published volumes in 1686. Samuel Smith's delivery to the Library of the only four printed volumes of the *Atlas* (at a cost of £10, the equivalent of the Librarian's salary) says a great deal about the high costs and risks involved in the production and sale of books in this period.

### *The Delivery of Books*

The Library's Accessions Register and Invoices Book paint a picture of the Library's early ordering, dispatch and accounting procedures, as well as recording almost everything that the Library acquired in this period, including globes, snake-skins and manuscripts. Anne Snape, formerly Chetham's Librarian, wrote an article in 1985 that covered some of the issues around the Library's early acquisitions.<sup>82</sup> However, its shortness and range point more to an antiquarian interest in the Library than the concern of this book to use the evidence of the Library's acquisitions to examine the dynamics of the second-hand trade and its relationship with provincial intellectual culture at this time. The trustees ordered the books using a list, which often specified

<sup>79</sup> John Starkey, *Mercurius Librarius* (London: John Starkey et al., 1668).

<sup>80</sup> Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier* (London: Robert Littlebury and Moses Pitt, 1678).

<sup>81</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 115.

<sup>82</sup> Anne Snape, 'Seventeenth-Century Book Purchasing in Chetham's Library', pp. 783–96.

the desired format, edition and age.<sup>83</sup> Once prepared by Littlebury, the 'fatts' (boxes), containing them were left at convenient inns to be despatched north, usually to the home of Thomas Minshull, the treasurer of the Library in the late seventeenth century. Minshull accounted for all of the books and arranged payments with Littlebury before the books were added to the Library's shelves. Littlebury named three London inns as starting points for the books' journey northward: the 'Pewter Platte' in St John's Street, the 'Blossome Inne' (in Lawrence Lane), and an inn close to Littlebury's shop, the 'Ax in Aldermanbury'.<sup>84</sup> The 'Ax at Aldermanbury' was a centre for the despatch of material around Britain, and had dedicated staff involved in such work.<sup>85</sup> The invoices for Chetham's Library name many of the carriers involved in the seven-day journey, including three men from Cheshire, Samuel Kirkman of Little Hassal, John Henshall of Bramhall, and John Shaw of High Leigh, and others such as Ralph Kettle and John Garnett. The books themselves were sent to Manchester packed in dry 'fatts' and hogsheads, for which a London cooper was paid both for his labour and his materials: in 1655, eighteen shillings and sixpence was charged 'for making the heade, Hoopes, Naites & his labour', and in 1656, two shillings 'for Hoopes'.<sup>86</sup> No mention is made of the cooper after 1660, which suggests that a new method of packing had been found, or that the chests and boxes were second-hand or re-used from earlier deliveries. A detail from the May 1656 delivery provides the clearest detail into the packing methods, and offers some possible diagrams for the packing of books in the boxes themselves: 'One great Chest, bought at second hand... 6s. / Fouer chests of deal. yard & halfe long... £1 1s. / One deale Chest. yard long... 6s.'<sup>87</sup> The total cost of packing between 1655 and 1685 was £31 8s. 10d., which included such extra items as '4 Quires of Wrighting Paper, 8s., and two quires of large thick paper, for ye Frames, 20 inches deep and near 14 long.'<sup>88</sup> The diagrams are reproduced here:

<sup>83</sup> Sadly these lists no longer exist; Anne Snape, 'Seventeenth-Century Book Purchasing', p. 789.

<sup>84</sup> Invoices, 17 October 1674, f. 39r.

<sup>85</sup> Richard Smyth, *The Obituary of Richard Smyth*, p. 60.

<sup>86</sup> Invoices, f. 5v. and f. 22v.

<sup>87</sup> Invoices, f. 13v.

<sup>88</sup> Invoices, f. 36v.



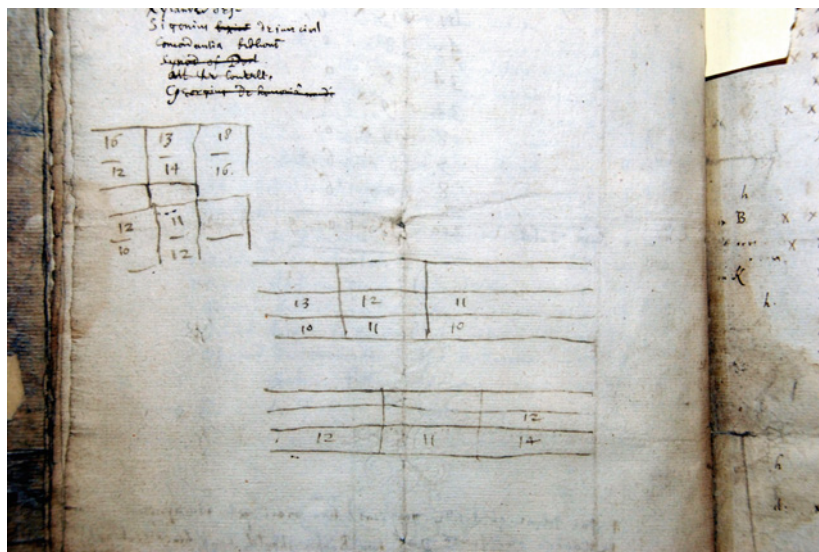


Figure 14. Design of ‘fatts’ for carriage of books to Manchester.<sup>89</sup>

Although it is not possible to calculate individual transport costs, some of the invoices provide information about prices for different legs of the journey. The carriage to Islington for the delivery in May 1657 cost ten shillings, and a transport to Oxford in 1674 cost one shilling.<sup>90</sup> An individual charge for the porter appears in the first delivery in August 1655, although thereafter the charges were absorbed into the total cost.<sup>91</sup> One unusual additional charge, in the August 1655 delivery, provides the only reference to Humphrey Chetham's stipulation that the Library's holdings should be chained to the shelves: 'Payd for Carriage of it to Manchester with ye Chaines, Rods, ye chaines for patternes, 2s. 5d.'<sup>92</sup> The cost of carrying the books was estimated by the hundredweight, although there does not seem to have been a direct relation between a delivery's weight and the cost of transportation.<sup>93</sup> The cost of weighing items was a fixed amount, although it is

<sup>89</sup> Invoices, *f.* 13v.

<sup>90</sup> Invoices, 16 July 1674, *f.* 38r.

<sup>91</sup> Invoices, *f.* 5v.

<sup>92</sup> Invoices, *f.* 5v.

<sup>93</sup> Anne Snape, 'Seventeenth-Century Book Purchasing', p. 785.

recorded in the invoice only for the first delivery at one shilling and sixpence. The globes presented more of a challenge, as an additional sixpence was added to the bill in May 1656 for 'weighing the globes'.<sup>94</sup>

Littlebury arranged for benefactors who had paid for books to be added to the Library to have their names inscribed on the title pages. In 1660, Littlebury reported to the trustees that

Sir within the covers of Dr Hammond an the Psalms and Gaudens Eccles Angl Suspicia you will finde the donors name printed upon A piece of paper, and if this like were done throughout the Library it would keep his name fresh in memory, and it might encourage others to doe something in that way.<sup>95</sup>

As will be discussed later on, the donation of books said as much about the donors as it did about the books themselves, and Littlebury was well aware of that aspect of Library acquisitions.

These snippets of evidence offer a reasonably clear picture of how, and at what cost, the books reached the Library during the seventeenth century. The accounts were made up at the end of each invoice, and the invoices transcribed into the Accessions Register. In the case of multi-volume sets purchased together, only the total cost is recorded, such as Suarez's *Opera* in twenty-two volumes, costing £9.<sup>96</sup> Where multi-volume sets were built up over time, the cost of each individual volume was recorded, such as the collected works of Isaac Barrow, collected between 1680 and 1686.<sup>97</sup> In the case of smaller deliveries, usually from Manchester suppliers, no breakdown of the total cost of a delivery is provided in the margins, save for the price in shillings listed in the text to the particular volume acquired.

The absence of precise detail about carriage, weighing and binding in the later accessions is not a sign of the booksellers or trustees becoming bored by detailed transcription. Given that in 1655 the trustees did not even know Littlebury's Christian name, Littlebury initially presented highly detailed accounts in order to prove both his competence and good faith. The absence of such detail later on is a testament to the growth of the relationship rather than a sign of slovenliness,

<sup>94</sup> Invoices, f. 13v.

<sup>95</sup> Invoices, f. 24v

<sup>96</sup> Francisco Suárez, *Varia Opuscula Theologica* (Mainz: Herman Meresius, 1618).

<sup>97</sup> Isaac Barrow, *Works* (London: Brabazon Aylmer, 1680–86).

so that by 1670, Littlebury could legitimately claim to have an intimate knowledge of the collection.<sup>98</sup> Attention to detail did not prevent the occasional duplicate acquisition of some titles, including Sylburg's *Etymologicon Magnum*, acquired in September 1655 and July 1672, the latter of which was returned in 1684.<sup>99</sup> More unusually, two copies of François Combefis's *Historia Haeresis Monothelitarum* came in the same packet in 1687, although one volume was immediately returned.<sup>100</sup> Littlebury offered to sell on the trustees' own books through local sellers and chapmen, even if he did not want to handle and sell on the books:

Two of Mr Pooles are in the Chest, but if hereafter your friend hath a desire to part with his, I will help him to a Chapman, and pay carriage, for at present I have noe occasion for it.<sup>101</sup>

Both the trustees and Littlebury were meticulous in checking that the delivery notes were accurate and that the Library had not been overcharged for its deliveries. Aside from a few returns of duplicates, quickly expedited and carefully accounted, there is no evidence of the trustees complaining about Littlebury's accounting. The trustees were very happy with Littlebury, but many buyers were disappointed with the service they received. Sir William Boothby, a Derbyshire book-collector who bought books from the bookseller Michael Johnson in Lichfield and from a variety of sellers in London, provides a counterpoint to the experience at Chetham's Library.

Boothby was a difficult customer who demanded the maximum quality of service at the minimum price: 'his letters provide a litany of complaints about bad service, neglect, and innumerable mistakes on the part of booksellers.'<sup>102</sup> In Boothby's defence, the dealers were somewhat 'less than models of efficiency' in the delivery of books and in following instructions about the bindings of books. Boothby threatened to change booksellers to encourage an improvement in the booksellers' service, and he did in fact change London suppliers when he

<sup>98</sup> Invoices, 30 July 1670, f. 30r.

<sup>99</sup> Friedrich Sylburg, *Etymologikon* (Heidelberg: Hieronymus Commelini, 1594); Accessions, f. 40r.

<sup>100</sup> François Combefis, *Historia Haeresis Monothelitarum* (Paris: Antoine Bertier, 1648).

<sup>101</sup> Invoices, 30 July 1670, f. 30v.

<sup>102</sup> Peter Beal, 'My Books Are The Great Joy in My Life', p. 357.

felt booksellers were not pulling their weight. The experience at Chetham's Library could not have been more different. In 1657, the trustees' minutes noted that £10 be paid to Robert Littlebury for his work for the Library, a gift that testified to the quality of Littlebury's services. Even more generous was the huge sum of £50 paid at the same time to Richard Johnson for all of his efforts in establishing the Library, an indication of the hard work that both men put into the Library's early stages.<sup>103</sup>

### *The Need to Keep Stock Moving*

Such praise of Littlebury's work should be restrained by consideration of more commercial motivations. Not all books that were supplied to Chetham's Library by Robert Littlebury, Samuel Smith or the Library's other booksellers were actively chosen by the trustees for addition to the collections. The booksellers were granted a degree of flexibility in the supply of books to the Library, and this inevitably meant that they passed on new and second-hand books that they were otherwise unable to sell before the books became a costly millstone. As David D. Hall writes:

Inventory studies, though enlightening in some respects, were disheartening in others, for it was impossible to demonstrate whether or how the books listed in them were read, and in the aggregate, impossible to demonstrate that the owners had intentionally selected the titles in their possession.<sup>104</sup>

Although many of the titles provided for Chetham's Library were the useful scholarly texts of any library, and Littlebury for the most part restrained himself when it came to sending titles in which he had a financial interest, it is worth exploring the example of one item of correspondence from Littlebury that underlines the need to move on unprofitable stock in as short a time as possible by passing it on to Chetham's Library, and the implications for the study of textual reception in this period of unwanted and unexpected titles in the Library's possession.

<sup>103</sup> Chetham's Library, Minutes Book Mun. A.5.1.i., 12 August 1657.

<sup>104</sup> David D. Hall, 'What Was the History of the Book? A Response', p. 539.

The evidence comes from a letter dated 17 October 1674, which accompanied a large delivery of Greek Orthodox liturgical works, and in which Littlebury referred to one of his other customers, Edmund Castell. Littlebury was connected to the English oriental scholar Edmund Castell (1606–86) through the Essex village of Woodham Walter. Littlebury, Littlebury's father and Castell's father owned land in Woodham Walter, and Castell was Rector of the local church from 1647 to 1670. Castell had been at Emmanuel College in Cambridge around the same time as Littlebury's customer and published author, Richard Holdsworth. Given Holdsworth's enthusiastic references to Littlebury in his will, it is possible that he recommended Littlebury to Castell. The connection is worth remarking upon as it marks the start of an ongoing and somewhat tortuous business relationship that lasted until Castell's death in 1686.

Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* is a very good example of a book that did not sell. Castell had been one of the assistants in the production of Brian Walton's London Polyglot Bible, issued in 1660. Encouraged by the success of Walton's Polyglot, Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* was intended as an aid to reading the seven oriental languages therein. It was not a success. Castell laboured for the next twelve years of his life on a project that bankrupted him. Beset by difficulties with his assistants, publication and sales, the book was idiosyncratic and 'its form so impractical as to render it largely useless'.<sup>105</sup> By 1674, Castell was Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, although his duties were very light, and he did not take his responsibilities seriously. Hampered by increasingly poor sight, he spent much of his time corresponding (in vain) with potential buyers of some of the six hundred unsold copies.

Littlebury despatched the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* to Chetham's Library on its eventual publication in 1669. Five years later, in an effort to help Castell clear some of the unsold copies, Littlebury tried to advertise the additional copies of the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* in his correspondence with the Library. Accompanying the delivery of £9 10s. worth of Greek Orthodox liturgies (printed in Venice) in 1674 was a note:

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<sup>105</sup> G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 187.

Hon<sup>d</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>.

I received yours, and yesterday sent by Thomas Hide from the Ax in Aldermanbury the Greeke Liturgies, with a new piece of the history and Antiquities of Oxford, which being of such a subject, I knew would be expected in the Library. — I have acquainted the mathematicall instrument maker, with what you writt about the sphaere, whoe sayd that he will take care to have one made before May next, soe as it may be exact, and to his Credit. If you please I can have it viewed by one of the ablest Parsons in England, but shall not conclude as to the price without your order. Sir If your letter had not come when it did, these Greeke Liturgies had bene gone to D<sup>r</sup> Castell, whoe writt the Orientall Lexicon, it being very rare to see soe many of them. I have not more to add save my humble service.

I am

your most obliged servant  
Ro: Littlebury.

London. Octob<sup>r</sup>. 17:  
1674.

Honoured Sir,

I received yours, and yesterday sent by Thomas Hide from the Ax in Aldermanbury the Greeke Liturgies, with a new piece of the History and Antiquities of Oxford, which being of such a subject, I knew would be expected in the Library. I have acquainted the mathematicall instrument maker with what you writt about the sphaeres, who said that he will take care to have one made before May next, soe as it may be exact, and to his Credit. If you please I can have it viewed by one of the ablest persons in England, but shall not conclude as to the price without your order. Sir, If your letter had not come when it did, these Greek liturgies had been gone to D<sup>r</sup> Castell, whoe writt the Orientall Lexicon, it being very rare to see soe many of them. I have no more to add save my humble service.

Sir I am your most obliged servant, Robert Littlebury.

London. October 17: 1674.

Figure 15. Robert Littlebury to Chetham's Library, 17 October 1674.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Invoices, 17 October 1674, f. 39r.

The letter suggests that Littlebury needed to pass on three books or sets of books: Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, the Greek Orthodox liturgies, and as further research demonstrates, a copy of Anthony à Wood's *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, included in the delivery.<sup>107</sup> Littlebury knew of the erudition of the clientele in Manchester and at the Collegiate Church. He presumably hoped that within the fellows or other local learned men lay a potential buyer of another copy of the *Lexicon* and of Wood's book. The trustees were not receptive to Littlebury's overtures, and they did not buy further copies of either work. Similarly, there were few institutions or persons to whom such a large collection of Greek Orthodox liturgical books could have gone. Littlebury's claim that the Greek Orthodox liturgies would otherwise have gone to Edmund Castell is false. By 1674, Castell was mired in debt, and certainly could not afford to pay the large sums involved in the acquisition of such titles. Included in the delivery was Wood's new work on the history of the University of Oxford, *Historia Et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*. Littlebury had reported to the recusant antiquary Thomas Blount in November 1674 (the month after the liturgies and the work on Oxford were delivered) that he had sold only three copies of Wood's book (presumably including a copy to Chetham's Library), and that it had been mocked by some Cambridge graduates who had looked at it in the shop.<sup>108</sup>

Littlebury was glad to be rid of copies of the three titles. The letter to the trustees, ostensibly a covering note for a delivery of liturgical books, reveals several fascinating details about Littlebury's business practices, in advertising his own diligence and his interest in shifting unprofitable and unmarketable stock. The experience of Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, the Greek Orthodox liturgies and Wood's *Historia* warns that some of the titles sent to the Library perhaps owed their delivery not to an expressed interest in a title's content but to a bookseller's desire to clear his shop of stock. This is not to say that the trustees were entirely unreceptive to the Greek Orthodox liturgies, and they did accept these titles from Littlebury, unlike a number of works offered to

<sup>107</sup> Anthony à Wood, *Historia Et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxonii: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674).

<sup>108</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford Ms. Wood F40. f. 193, 28 November 1674, cited in Thomas Blount, *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount (1618–1679)* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1978), p. 94.



them by Smith and Littlebury throughout the period. Chapter IV considers the issues surrounding the reception of the Greek Orthodox liturgies in more detail, and argues that they were accepted by the trustees as part of their ambitions for the encouragement of wider scholarly learning in Manchester. Littlebury was keen to rid himself of books he was unable to sell, and the Library's acquisitions reflect that fact.

The book trade did get its revenge. It fell to Littlebury and to Robert Scott to value and to sell on Castell's estate and Hebrew books, including the hundred unsold copies of the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* that Littlebury had failed to shift in the 1670s.<sup>109</sup> It is not the purpose of this chapter to narrate the relationship between Chetham's Library and Littlebury, nor to provide a statistical analysis of the Library's acquisitions by cost, age, language and publisher, not least because many of the former issues are covered by Anne Snape's article, and because many of the latter issues are discussed in Chapter Two. The evidence provided by Littlebury's supply to Manchester helps the study of the second-hand book trade in this period to address three issues that have yet to be fully examined in this period.

*The Second Hand Profit Margin: 'To a penny the same price  
set downe to you'*

The study of the second-hand book trade has been largely neglected by historians, partly through a perceived lack of evidence and because of the emphasis on the (contested) monopoly of the Stationers' Company. The acquisition of books by Chetham's Library can add constructively to the study of the second-hand trade in three key areas. First, it can provide a working hypothesis relating to the profit margin in the second-hand book trade in the early modern period. Second, it can place the Library in the context of the ongoing debate about the sale of 'bound' books; finally, it can contribute to the study of the impact of the Great Fire of London in 1666.

The profit margin on books, new and old, has presented a real challenge for historians of the book trade, not least because of a lack of evidence from catalogues and libraries against which to compare

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<sup>109</sup> *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Ioannis Theyer* (British Library MS, Add. 6414), cited in Henry Plomer, *Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland 1557-1775* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1977), p. 191



prices. Many previous studies of the trade have fought shy of considering it in any detail, but as this book argues, perhaps the very difficulty in calculating it comes from the fact that the profit margin was more a flexible and market-driven quantity than a generally agreed mark-up. An article by Francis Johnson in 1950 suggested that a London bookseller probably received stock from a printer at approximately twenty percent below the contemplated retail selling price, and that a London bookseller, when supplying a bookseller in the provinces and paying the carrier's charges, set the provincial price a little below the London retail price.<sup>110</sup> Although Chetham's Library acquired relatively few newly-published titles, the evidence of prices provided here will improve the historical understanding of profit margins for new titles.

Profit margins in the second-hand book trade are equally under-represented in the history of the book trade. James Raven has observed that one of the remaining challenges for historians of the early modern book is to consider the 'profit margin' for second-hand booksellers in the latter half of the seventeenth century.<sup>111</sup> A collection of essays published in 2006, edited by Giles Mandelbrote, a historian of the seventeenth-century book trade, does not address the issue in any detail, much to the detriment of the collection.<sup>112</sup> While format and binding affected prices, provenance had no impact on the prices the Library paid, while the invoices and Accessions Register make no references to former owners. The fact that titles were old was largely immaterial. By comparison, John Dee only occasionally inscribed '*vetust*' (Latin for *old*) in his incunabula, and neither the 1578 Estienne copy of Plato that belonged to Ben Jonson (with his motto '*tanquam explorator*') nor the copy of the collected works of Prosper of Aquitaine formerly in the Greenwich Library of Henry VIII were identified as such until the nineteenth century.<sup>113</sup>

Prices seem to have been set by the bookseller on a case-by-case basis, and while the traditional mark-up for the sale of new books was around one-third of the cost price, no fixed rule seems to have applied

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<sup>110</sup> Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1550–1640', *The Library*, 5 (1950), pp. 83–112, H. S. Bennett, 'Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1480–1560', *The Library*, 5 (1950), pp. 172–78.

<sup>111</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 106.

<sup>112</sup> Giles Mandelbrote, *Out of Print & into Profit* (London and New Castle: The British Library and Oak Knoll, 2006).

<sup>113</sup> Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990), number 1334.

for the sale of older stock. The evidence of the Library's acquisitions through Littlebury, when compared against some pre-existing evidence, does point to flexibility and the impact of market forces rather than a fixed mark-up along the lines of the trade in new books. It is instructive to explore how far Littlebury's profit margin for new and old titles reflected the need to retain a relationship of trust and good will with his customers. Julian Roberts has suggested that booksellers used private codes and keys, written on the inside front covers of books, to remind themselves of the profit margin for each title.<sup>114</sup> There is little evidence in the books in the Library's holdings with original bindings that Littlebury followed this practice, but the work involved in identifying and analysing these kinds of marks is invaluable in furthering the study of the profit margin. In 1674, Littlebury advised the trustees that a set of titles 'cost me to a penny the same price set downe to you'.<sup>115</sup> In 1684, he wrote to the trustees to claim that he was charging them the same price that he had paid for a particular (sadly unnamed) second-hand title: 'the prices are just as every one payed'.<sup>116</sup> Given how much business the Library brought into his shop, a small reduction in profit for some titles ordered would not have reduced his overall profit by very much, whilst claims that he charged cost price for some titles reinforced the impression of a diligent and fair bookseller. The implication of this correspondence is that he attempted to make a profit by charging a great deal more than his cost price for other titles. Of course, this makes it difficult to establish a rule of thumb along the lines of the one-third mark-up but, on the evidence presented here, Littlebury charged what he believed the market could stand. The price of the London Polyglot Bible, set by its editor Brian Walton at £10, had risen very quickly, and by 1660 its reputation was such that copies were retailing at around £18.<sup>117</sup> Littlebury followed this upward trend by charging Chetham's Library £12 in 1660, with an extra £4 for 'extraordinary binding'. Littlebury's profit motive thus represents a compromise between the original cost price and considerably higher sums that such a popular title reached. It frustrated Brian Walton's hope that 'every

<sup>114</sup> I am grateful to the late Julian Roberts for these suggestions.

<sup>115</sup> Invoices, 16 July 1674, f. 38r.

<sup>116</sup> Invoices, 30 August 1684, f. 47r.

<sup>117</sup> Jim Bennett and Scott Mandelbrote, *The Garden, the Ark, the Tower, the Temple* (Oxford: Museum of the History of Science in association with the Bodleian Library, 1998), p. 8.

private man' could have at his disposal the original sources and major translations of the Bible.<sup>118</sup>

There is little evidence of fixed pricing, or indeed agreed prices for new books.<sup>119</sup> In 1672, Robert Hooke paid Moses Pitt six shillings for a 1668 edition of Descartes' *Epistolae*; in 1671, Chetham's Library, on the acquisition of the same book, paid nine shillings, one-and-a-half times the price Hooke paid.<sup>120</sup> The price difference can perhaps be attributed to the fact that Hooke would have bought his copy in sheets to be bound according to his taste, while Littlebury dispatched all of the books destined for Chetham's Library bound. Hooke paid John Martin £1 4s. in 1676 for a copy of Willoughby's *Ornithologia*; in 1681, Littlebury charged the Library only sixteen shillings, a third less than Hooke paid, a considerable difference in price that suggests this area needs further exploration.<sup>121</sup> William Boothby, a very difficult customer to satisfy, would not have been pleased to discover that he paid one shilling more for his copy of *State Tracts relating to Charles II* than the eight shillings Littlebury charged Chetham's Library.<sup>122</sup> Most informatively, a similar technique can be used to compare the prices Littlebury charged Chetham's Library and the Norwich City Library for four second-hand books around the same time, to identify how prices fluctuated upwards and downwards, subject to Littlebury's own decisions about his customers and the market.

Working from the data provided by David Stoker in the Appendix to his article on Norwich City Library, it can be seen that between 1656 and 1657, Littlebury supplied the *Opera Omnia* by Basilius, two volumes of Oecumenius, two volumes of Theophylactus and a volume of Philo Judaeus.<sup>123</sup> For Basilius, Littlebury charged Chetham's Library two shillings less than he charged Norwich City Library (£1 12s. against £1 14s., some six percent less); for the Oecumenius, Chetham's Library paid £1, as opposed to Norwich City Library's £1 4s., some seventeen percent less. In the case of Philo Judaeus, Littlebury charged Chetham's

<sup>118</sup> Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 110.

<sup>119</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 90.

<sup>120</sup> Hooke, p. 17; René Descartes, *Renati Descartes Epistolae* (London: John Dunmore, 1668).

<sup>121</sup> Hooke, p. 225, and Francis Willoughby, *Ornithologiae Libri Tres* (London: John Martyn, 1676).

<sup>122</sup> *State Tracts* (London: n.p., 1689).

<sup>123</sup> Appendix to David Stoker, 'Doctor Collinges and the Revival of Norwich City Library, 1657–64', *Library History*, 5 (1980).

Library and Norwich City Library exactly the same price, 16 shillings. Finally, Littlebury charged Chetham's Library three shillings (some fourteen per cent) more for two volumes in Theophylactus than Norwich City Library. As this example demonstrates, for Littlebury, the second-hand profit margin was perhaps more flexible and market-driven than a fixed addition to the cost price. Just as with price structures for new titles, the challenge remains to find many more examples to fill out this area of study in data and interpretation. Much more work needs to be done, systematically organised, with its definition of 'newness' delimited. This brief outline shows both how flexible prices for new titles were, and how comparisons of the different prices paid for the same titles can be undertaken to model booksellers' profit margins on new and second-hand books throughout the early modern period.

*The Acquisition of 'Bound Books' by Chetham's Library*

The second area in which the acquisition of books by Chetham's Library can contribute to the study of the seventeenth-century book trade is in the debate over the sale and distribution of texts 'bound' and in sheets.<sup>124</sup> The traditional understanding of book binding in this period has been that a majority of books were for sale 'on the rails' in sheets or temporary binding. When purchased, the sheets were bound at the request of the buyer, either through the bookseller or by the new owner's chosen binder. For imported titles, the law of 1534 specified that books were to be imported unbound, but this had increasingly been disregarded during the seventeenth century, and books with continental bindings certainly came into the Library in the 1650s. This traditional interpretation has come under recent scrutiny in a rather controversial work by Stuart Bennett.<sup>125</sup> Bennett contends that the traditional view is 'essentially misguided' and suggests that many more books between 1660 and 1800 were sold bound than had previously been thought. Working through a considerable weight of evidence from *Term Catalogues*, advertisements and published price lists from binders, Bennett contends that many more (eighty percent of books from the *Term*

<sup>124</sup> Mirjam M. Foot, 'Bookbinding' *CHBB* IV, p. 621.

<sup>125</sup> Stuart Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding in the British Isles, 1660–1800* (London and New Castle: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2006).

*Catalogues* 1668–1673) were sold bound.<sup>126</sup> But as Nicholas Pickwoad points out in his rather scathing review, Bennett's argument turns on the interpretation of the word 'bound' (p. 464) and the implications buyers drew from it. Aside from noting 'extraordinary binding' in a couple of cases, the binding of the volumes at Chetham's Library was significant only in so far as it met Humphrey Chetham's testamentary stipulation that the books in the Library be chained to prevent them from being stolen.<sup>127</sup> Only the August 1655 delivery refers to the books' bindings: 'Payd for Carriage of it to Manchester with ye Chaines, Rods, ye chaines for patternes, 2s. 5d'.<sup>128</sup> Although Manchester had a professional binder in Mordechai Moxon, on the few occasions that books had to be bound for the Library, Littlebury had them bound in London, including four pounds paid to an unnamed binder in 1660 for the 'extraordinary binding' of the London Polyglot Bible, and the binding 'in black and white' of Matthew Poole's five-volume *Synopsis Criticorum* for thirty shillings in 1678.<sup>129</sup>

Littlebury sent all of the volumes, new and second-hand, to the Library in permanent bindings, including books in Continental bindings that he had imported from Europe.<sup>130</sup> While the acquisitions by Chetham's Library, being predominantly second-hand and already bound, do not engage with Bennett's questions directly, two pieces of evidence go in some way to undermine Bennett's case. The first relates to the fact that on a couple of occasions, Littlebury had newly published books bound in London before despatching them to Manchester, including the *Synopsis Criticorum* and the London Polyglot Bible. In the case of the London Polyglot Bible, although the Accessions Register did not note the condition in which the text was supplied, Littlebury's Invoices record that the book was supplied in 'quires', and bound in London before being despatched.<sup>131</sup> This evidence suggests that at least these books went from being supplied in sheets to permanent binding on the orders of the buyers before reaching their final destination, thereby bypassing the liminal stage suggested by Bennett. The second,

<sup>126</sup> Nicholas Pickwoad, 'Review of Trade Bookbinding in the British Isles', *The Library*, 6 (2005), pp. 464–65.

<sup>127</sup> Michael Powell, 'Endowed libraries for towns' *CHL* II, p. 85.

<sup>128</sup> Invoices, f. 5v.

<sup>129</sup> Invoices, 30 August 1684, f. 47r.

<sup>130</sup> Nine titles contain the term 'Contemporary Continental binding' in their catalogue entries.

<sup>131</sup> Invoices, f. 23r.

and more problematic, piece of evidence comes from Littlebury's will. In it, Littlebury left 'all my Stock of bound Books that shall bee in my dwelling howse, Shopp and Warehowse att the tyme of my decease'. Littlebury thus distinguished between bound and unbound books.<sup>132</sup> It is possible to infer from the will that the 'bound Books' were those books already in permanent binding (presumably second-hand), and those books unbound newly and recently published, which runs contrary to Bennett's argument that all books were sold 'bound'. Indeed, in its distinction between bound and unbound, Littlebury's will undermines Bennett's contention that there was some form of liminal state between bound and unbound, and suggests that the original wisdom is in fact the correct understanding of early modern binding practice. More significantly in this case of binding, the fact that the Library certainly acquired books bound enables the historian to piece together the British and European provenance of the Library's holdings. Much work, outside the scope of this book, needs to be undertaken on the provenance of the Library's holdings suggested by the bindings of its books. The most obvious next task is to isolate the delivery of titles by Littlebury, identify books with English and Continental bindings, and to carry out a detailed analysis of the resulting evidence in conjunction with the dates of acquisition and prices in the catalogue. Such an exercise is challenging although now limited to the remaining books not completely rebound during the nineteenth century, although its value to students of binding and the book trade would be considerable.

### *The Impact of the Great Fire of London*

More traumatic than any other event to befall the London book trade in the seventeenth century was the Great Fire of London in 1666, and its general impact can be read in the dates of deliveries to the Library. Based as they were around St Paul's Churchyard, booksellers were the trade group most damaged by the Fire, as they had laid their stock for safety in the Cathedral crypt shortly before it burned down.<sup>133</sup> On 5 October 1666, Samuel Pepys estimated that £150,000 worth of books

<sup>132</sup> GL MS 9052/21, Adm Act Book 17=20 London Testm Robti Littlebury def prob: 16: Jan 1695/6.

<sup>133</sup> William Taswell, *Autobiography and Anecdotes by William Taswell* (London: Camden Society, 1853), pp. 12–13.

Table 9. Percentage (%) long-term movements of London booksellers, 1666–1680 derived from Jacob Field's calculations

| <i>Type of move</i>   | <i>Proportion (%)</i> |
|---|-----------------------|
| Affected by Fire, did not move at all                       | 0                     |
| Affected by Fire, moved, returned to pre-Fire residence     | 34.9                  |
| Affected by Fire, moved, returned to pre-Fire neighbourhood | 16.3                  |
| Affected by Fire, moved, stayed in same residence           | 4.70                  |
| Affected by Fire, moved, stayed in same neighbourhood       | 2.30                  |
| Unaffected by Fire, did not move at all                     | 39.5                  |
| Unaffected by Fire, moved                                   | 2.30                  |

was destroyed in St Faith's, and he was concerned it might lead to a rise in prices.<sup>134</sup> The booksellers bounced back remarkably quickly, as recent research on the topography of the book trade before and after the Fire has found. Working from the place of business recorded on title pages, Jacob Field suggests that booksellers experienced only initial 'superficial disruption' even though the Fire destroyed their traditional marketplace.<sup>135</sup> As Field's table below shows, although around half of the booksellers in London were forced to move after the Fire, they quickly returned to their pre-Fire topographical and business patterns.

Field continues that the Great Fire only temporarily reversed the status of the area around St Paul's Churchyard as a major book-selling area. Giles Mandelbrote concurs, arguing that St Paul's Churchyard had recovered quickly and regained its pre-eminence as a marketplace by 1670.<sup>136</sup> Working from ESTC entries for Littlebury, it seems that he was unaffected by the Fire, and he continued to publish at the 'King's Arms in Little Britain' in 1666 and 1667. Giles Mandelbrote notes in his assessment

<sup>134</sup> *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Volume 7, pp. 309–10.

<sup>135</sup> Table and statistics derived from Jacob Field, 'Reactions and responses to the Great Fire of London: the Impact of Disaster on metropolitan society' (PhD thesis, School of Historical Studies: University of Newcastle, 2008), p. 150.

<sup>136</sup> Giles Mandelbrote, 'Workplaces and living spaces', p. 23.

of the impact of the Fire that the booksellers and importers were forced to turn to the Continent to acquire new stock, and Littlebury's behaviour reflects this insight. Shortly after the Fire, Isaac Littlebury went to Paris to buy books on his father's behalf, a decision to which Robert Littlebury refers both in correspondence with the Library trustees and in his dealings with Robert Hooke and John Locke. Having sent two parcels in June and August 1666 totalling £175, Littlebury dispatched no further books to the Library until June 1669, when he sent £122 5s. of books, including the most expensive work in the collection, the 'King of Spaines Bible', the 1569 Plantin Polyglot Bible. In the five years from 1669, Littlebury sent five deliveries to Chetham's Library averaging £65 every year, parcels of comparable size and cost to parcels he sent before the Fire, of which around three-quarters were published abroad. Although the Fire had a disruptive effect, he seems to have returned to business in the timeframe suggested by Jacob Field and Giles Mandelbrote. Like many Stationers and second-hand dealers, he quickly 'bounced back' to his original strength, including the acquisition of some valuable and significant stock from the Continent.

*Reciprocity in the Book Trade: Littlebury, Holdsworth,  
Firmin and Stratford*

The previous section used Robert Littlebury's supply of books to Chetham's Library as a source of evidence to answer quite simple (but important) questions about the economics and strength of the early modern book trade, and to outline the 'interplay' between new and old, domestic and overseas. The evidence can be extended further into the complex ways that underline the reciprocity of relationships within the book trade and the role that these relationships played in the intellectual culture of the time. Central to modern thinking about book history is that relationships within the book trade are reciprocal: booksellers are influenced as much by their customers as they influence their customers. Three of Littlebury's customers provide clear examples of this reciprocity at work in the early modern book trade, one from Littlebury's early life in the trade, one a clergyman living in London in the 1660s, and the third the Warden of the Collegiate Church between 1667 and 1684.

The first obviously reciprocal relationship in Littlebury's business as a bookseller was with Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel



College Cambridge and briefly the university's Vice-Chancellor. Holdsworth identified Littlebury, 'a servant of Laurence Sadler of Duck Lane', as a trustworthy supplier in the early 1640s. Holdsworth named Littlebury and Robert Beaumont as cataloguers of his books in his will, for 'they [knew] most of my Bookes already'.<sup>137</sup> As well as supplying and valuing Holdsworth's books, in the same year that he published John Durie's *Reformed Librarie-Keeper*, Littlebury published Holdsworth's *Valley of Vision*, a posthumous collection of Holdsworth's sermons, which appeared with a request that the reader make 'charitable allowances in things of this nature'.<sup>138</sup> The critical reception of his efforts aside, the trade between Littlebury and his customers ran in two directions between bookseller and book buyer. Another of Littlebury's customers, Giles Firmin, was one of his published writers. Firmin, whose *Sober Reply to the Sober Answer of Reverend Mr. Cawdrey* Littlebury had published in 1653, acknowledged Littlebury as his bookseller in a letter to Richard Baxter in 1654.<sup>139</sup> As Firmin's bookseller, Littlebury did more than simply supply books. He ran errands to other booksellers and published Firmin's work, which shows how the book trade relationships between metropolis and province ran in two directions.

The relationship between Littlebury and Nicholas Stratford, warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester in the 1670s, exemplifies this interplay between provinces and metropolis even further. A highly-educated and influential seventeenth-century divine, Nicholas Stratford was interested in books and the book trade throughout his adult life, as demonstrated by his personal collection and the titles he bought for Chetham's Library. In the mid-1680s Littlebury acknowledged Stratford's continued work in the selection of books for the Library, and his collaboration with John Pearson and William Lloyd in the selection of Continental titles for the Library. Moreover, Littlebury published Stratford's work. The 1681 *Sermon at Chester Assizes*, written during Stratford's time as Warden of the Collegiate Church, was published solely by Littlebury. Richard Holdsworth, Giles Firmin and Nicholas Stratford show the relationships between London booksellers (in the form of Robert Littlebury) and their provincial customers were

<sup>137</sup> J.C.T Oates, *Cambridge University Library*, p. 309.

<sup>138</sup> Thomas Fuller's introduction to Richard Holdsworth, *The Valley of Vision, or a Clear Sight of Sundry Sacred Truths* (London and Cambridge: Robert Tomlins and Robert Littlebury, 1651).

<sup>139</sup> Giles Firmin to Richard Baxter, 24 July 1654.

reciprocal. Chetham's Library and its trustees were not simply passive recipients of titles from the book trade, but active participants and agents in the exchange of books and ideas in the early modern period.

*The Transition from London to Manchester*

Littlebury supplied books to the Library between 1655 and his death from 'cancer of the mouth' on Christmas Day 1695.<sup>140</sup> The fifteen years after 1685 mark a transition in the Library's acquisitions practice, as the trustees, led by Stratford's successor Dr Richard Wroe, began to rely more heavily on the Manchester book trade.<sup>141</sup> From the evidence of his will, Littlebury had made a considerable amount of money in the trade outside the Stationers' Company, and left land in Tottenham and Woodham Walter in Essex, as well as substantial sums of money to his wife and his three sons.<sup>142</sup> By the early 1690s, Littlebury had decided to cut back on his business, and reduced the number of deliveries to Manchester. He took on a number of charitable responsibilities within the Haberdashers' Company, including the Wardenship in 1694.<sup>143</sup> Described as a 'good' Tory, the 'aged Littlebury who is always for doing the fair thing' undertook a number of civic duties, including acting as the deputy alderman of the parish of Aldersgate Without between 1681–1683 and 1689–1695.<sup>144</sup> Littlebury's legacy falls into two parts: family continuity in the trade through his sons Isaac and George Littlebury, and more pertinently for the Library, professional continuity in the trade through Moses Pitt and Samuel Smith.

Robert Littlebury had sent his son Isaac to buy books in Paris, and Isaac was involved in publishing a small number of texts that made their way to Manchester in the 1680s.<sup>145</sup> Littlebury left the shop and the land at Woodham Walter to Isaac, but Isaac did not play any other part in the supply of books to Chetham's Library. Littlebury's second son George (by his second wife Catherine Newton), to whom Littlebury left a third of his books (to be shared equally with his third son John),

<sup>140</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 28 December 1695.

<sup>141</sup> C. W. Sutton, 'Wroe, Richard (1641–1718)', rev. Henry D. Rack, *ODNB*.

<sup>142</sup> London Guildhall Library, GL 9052/21. Adm Act Book 17=20 London Testm Robti Littlebury def prob: 16: Jan 1695/6.

<sup>143</sup> Ian Archer, *Haberdashers' Company*, p. 212.

<sup>144</sup> J.R. Woodhead, *The Rulers of London, 1660–1689* (London: London & Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1965), pp. 104–10.

<sup>145</sup> Catullus, *Caius Valerius Catullus* (Leiden [i.e. London]: Isaac Littlebury, 1684).

was apprenticed to the Stationer Adiel Mill in 1682. Mill was Moses Pitt's first cousin, who had transferred his allegiance from the Haberdashers Company to the Stationers Company in the 1660s, although neither George nor John were connected with Chetham's Library and they do not appear in ESTC, which suggests they were not involved in the book trade.

While Littlebury appears to have wound down his business in the early part of the 1690s and left the remaining business to his sons, he might not have expected his apprentices to elbow their way into supplying Chetham's Library before his death. Littlebury's apprentice Samuel Smith, whom Stratford had employed to supply scientific texts, wrote a letter to offer his services to the trustees in 1683, and he supplied books until 1695. Smith had been freed of Moses Pitt the previous year, and had become a Freeman both of the Stationers' Company and of the City of London. Although nothing is known of his early education, he was later described by his contemporary John Dunton as speaking 'French and Latin with a great deal of fluency and ease,' much like Littlebury. Moreover, Smith used the trade with Chetham's Library to start out on his career, much as Littlebury had done in 1655. So it was that Littlebury and Smith were in competition for business for the last decade of Littlebury's active time in the trade until Littlebury made his last delivery to Manchester in 1692. That Smith had presumed to write to the trustees to offer his services and to tread on the toes of a much more senior member of the book trade with whom he had a personal filiation underlines the competitiveness of the book trade throughout the seventeenth century. Not that Littlebury was above quiet attacks on the competition. In September 1692 Richard Lapthorne had reported to Richard Coffin that the copy of Charles du Fresne du Cange's *Historia Byzantina Duplici Commentario Illustrata* on sale in Smith's shop was 'by much the worst edition being informed by Mr Littlebury'.<sup>146</sup> The trustees were happy with Littlebury and Smith's competence as sellers, as the money paid to Littlebury in 1660 suggests. Smith's business had grown considerably by 1695, by which stage he was the official printer to the Royal Society, with considerable responsibilities for importing material from the Continent. The decline in the trade with London booksellers was matched by a concomitant growth in the number of books and materials supplied by Manchester

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<sup>146</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 6 September 1692.

booksellers, including Zacharias Whitworth and Ephraim Johnston, who made several small deliveries each after 1685, including second-hand and foreign texts. By the turn of the century, the trustees had opted for the Manchester booksellers William Clayton and Sons, who supplied the Library with British and Continental stock well into the eighteenth century. In the fifty years since its foundation, the Manchester book trade had become capable of meeting the Library's needs in ways in which the local booksellers could not in the 1650s.

*'Mr Littlebury who is our standard for knowing Authors'*

The trustees had gambled in 1655 in the selection of a young and upcoming bookseller, but their initial faith had paid off. Between 1655 and 1695, Littlebury sent around £2500 worth of books to the Library, and had built up a considerable reputation as a bookseller and importer. Richard Lapthorne had turned to Littlebury on a number of occasions to source titles from Europe, including Higden's *Polychronycon*, the Oxford edition of Cyprian and 'Kirchers phonourgia nova'.<sup>147</sup> In search of the latter title, Lapthorne reported to Coffin that 'I went to ... Mr Littlebury who is our standard for knowing Authors & hee knew nothing of such a booke'.<sup>148</sup> Lapthorne's comment is a real testament to Littlebury's skills; they imply if Littlebury was unable to find it, it was not available. By the time of his death Littlebury was well established in the trade, his opinions sought by many, and his business very profitable. When set against the experience of others, Chetham's Library seems to have been remarkably lucky in its selection of a highly competent bookseller. Although it is not possible to identify exactly how much profit he made from his supply of books to the Library, a great deal can still be learned about the second-hand trade in this period and perhaps about ways of thinking about the history of the book and the book trade.

The body of evidence provided by the Library's acquisitions and the purchase of books sheds light on the spider's web of provincial, national and international connections, filiations and reciprocal relationships that Littlebury employed in the building-up of his stock and its subsequent dispatch from London to Manchester. Much of the trade

<sup>147</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 28 July 1688, 19 August 1688, 24 November 1688, 12 December 1694.

<sup>148</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 29 September 1692.

in books, new and second-hand, took place successfully and profitably outside the monopoly of the Stationers' Company, because people wanted to read books from 'old libraries'.<sup>149</sup> The trade in books from Continental Europe was considerable and carried out by booksellers inside and outside the Stationers' Company, as the Haberdasher-importers Littlebury, Smith and Pitt testify. This trade in new and old books was international, and transacted in a variety of languages across political boundaries. It reinforces the point that to think about the early modern book trade is to think internationally, underscoring the degree to which the book trade in this period was allied to the business of books elsewhere in the provinces and in Ireland.

The trade in books was a trade like any other, and it is as such that it should be understood. From that model, book trade relationships were international and reciprocal: for scholars seeking to understand the dynamics of the book trade at any time, the fact that Littlebury published the works of his customer Stratford is as important as the fact that Littlebury sold books to Manchester. Moreover, the Library's position as a provincial institution made it all the more important in influencing the London book trade, as Stratford and Littlebury demonstrate. The geographical centre of gravity in the Library's acquisition of books had changed. From being forced to rely for stock on the London trade and Robert Littlebury in 1655, by the end of the century the trustees turned to Manchester booksellers to meet their needs, although the Manchester suppliers were dependent upon the London book trade for their stock.

John Dunton suggested of Robert Littlebury 'that one would think, by his forgetting to damn a Debtor, that he traded for ready money'.<sup>150</sup> Yet Littlebury was a canny businessman who built up a considerable and deserved reputation through hard work and professional competence. He was instrumental in bringing a scholarly library to Manchester. This chapter has shown how effectively he was able to achieve this, as well as outlining how a history of the second-hand trade can benefit from the analysis of the Library's acquisitions. Many of the lessons identified here have to be incorporated into the study of textual distribution and reception, particularly in the acquisition and reception of theological titles at Chetham's Library throughout the seventeenth century.

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<sup>149</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 106.

<sup>150</sup> John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton*, p. 338.



#### CHAPTER IV

### THE RECEPTION OF THEOLOGY AT CHETHAM'S LIBRARY

#### *A Useful Theological Library*

This chapter is concerned with the acquisition and reception of theological books at Chetham's Library during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In particular, it emphasises the use and usefulness of theological titles for the defence of an 'Anglican' identity in both the selection and reception of texts in the Library's holdings.

It is difficult to break down the Library's theological collections by subject. This was as apparent to the librarians in the seventeenth century as it is to their twenty-first-century counterparts. In order to provide the Library with 'standards of coherence', from the outset the Librarians produced sets of manuscript shelf-lists and catalogues, and these tasks persisted up to the end of the following century. This exercise culminated in the first printed catalogue, the *Bibliotheca Chethamensis Catalogus* of 1791, in which the books were listed by subject. Using the systems employed by the early librarians, the roughly 1500 titles that fall under the heading of 'theology' can be broken down as follows:

But this kind of subject analysis is of limited value, because it does not tell the reader anything they might wish to know or understand other than that the Library acquired a particular title during a fifty-year period. To provide two examples from Cambridge, neither Philip Gaskell's history of Trinity College Library nor Sargent Bush and Carl Rasmussen's work on Emmanuel College Library pay enough attention to the dates on which particular titles were acquired, preferring to focus on a 150-year stretch (for Trinity) or the first 53 years at Emmanuel.<sup>1</sup> Chetham's Library, with its clear starting point in 1655, the end of the cash spend in 1661, and a known date of acquisition for every title in the Library's Accessions Register for the period 1655–1700, makes the study of how and when a book or set of books reached Manchester a more profitable exercise. To know a particular title's date

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<sup>1</sup> *Trinity College; Emmanuel College.*

Table 10. Percentage (%) theological acquisitions 1655–1700 by *Bibliotheca Chethamensis Catalogus*

| Type of theological material         | Proportion |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Bibles                               | 2.03       |
| Concordances                         | 1.90       |
| Biblical Interpretation              | 1.12       |
| Commentary and Harmonies             | 27.3       |
| Rabbinical and Cabbalistic Works     | 0.20       |
| Rabbinical Books                     | 0.92       |
| Christian Works on Judaism and Islam | 1.84       |
| Patristics                           | 9.71       |
| Church Councils, Canon Law and Popes | 6.10       |
| Liturgical Books                     | 4.79       |
| Scholastics                          | 6.82       |
| Miscellaneous Theology               | 37.3       |

of acquisition makes comparisons with its date of publication and with other similar (or different) titles a simple task, and this chapter uses the evidence about reception that the exact date of acquisition provides.

More than half of what the Library bought between 1655 and 1700 was theological in content. That the Library was so theologically oriented is hardly surprising. Chetham himself had appointed three local divines, Richard Johnson, John Tilsley and Richard Hollinworth, as Library trustees. Many of the readers were local clergy, including the veteran preachers Adam Martindale and Henry Newcome.<sup>2</sup> The theological interests of the most prominent members of Manchester's godly community dominated the Library's early history. The size of the holdings makes discussion of them a challenge. On the grounds of space, it is invidious to focus on one set of titles or one work to the exclusion of others. Moreover, much about the conditions of a title's acquisition can be inferred from the detail provided by the catalogue of the Accessions Register and the numerical identifier it has generated. This chapter divides the theological titles purchased between 1655 and 1700 into three themed categories. The first section considers 'key' texts, and covers the Library's acquisition of scholarly titles such as Bibles, biblical apparatus and patristic material. The second considers the intellectual and book trade changes demonstrated by the Library's acquisitions,

<sup>2</sup> Adam Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 49.



and outlines the early intellectual and book trade reliance upon Continental scholarship, a gradual move towards British scholarship and the book trade, the change in tone from Calvinism to Latitudinarianism, and the acquisition of works of Hebraica as part of a later seventeenth-century interest in eastern wisdom and learning. Finally, the chapter investigates the more complicated relationships between the Library's acquisitions, their physical format, the circumstances of their acquisition and the problems involved in discussing reception that result from the way in which the Library was constituted in the seventeenth century. Unlike the subject headings provided in the *Bibliotheca Chethamensis Catalogus*, these thematic categories can relate directly to the reception of texts within the clerical community of Manchester and in later seventeenth-century England.

‘An Artificer cannot work without tools,  
nor any man be a good Clerk without books’<sup>3</sup>

The Library's very earliest theological acquisitions were books used on a daily basis that fitted the needs and interests of the local clergy of later seventeenth-century Manchester. Calvinist in tone and geared towards the immediate concerns of a local preaching clergy and local scholars, the earliest purchases were necessarily dependent upon Continental scholarship, irrespective of the confessional position of the editors and printing house; the provision of a universality of knowledge, undertaken by the best commentators and editors, was the greatest concern.<sup>4</sup> This made Chetham's Library rather different from many town libraries, the parochial libraries established by Chetham himself, and college libraries like that of Emmanuel College in Cambridge. They had been founded to train clergy to promote a particular reforming agenda, as Tilsley had expressed it in his letter to Johnson in 1655. Chetham's Library looked beyond the confessional element of a particular text in favour of its scholarly value and contribution to wider knowledge.

The acquisition of Bibles, the central texts of early modern England, the ‘source for private faith, social values and public affairs’, illuminates these points very clearly.<sup>5</sup> More than two-thirds of the Bibles delivered to Chetham's Library in the seventeenth century were sent by Littlebury

<sup>3</sup> William Crowe, *A Collection, or Catalogue of Our English Writers* (London: John Williams, 1663), sig. A4r.

<sup>4</sup> Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, p. 225.

by 1661. Bibles were some of the most expensive titles purchased. Littlebury charged £20 in 1669 for a copy of the Plantin (Antwerp) Polyglot Bible, and £16 for the London Polyglot Bible.<sup>6</sup> The Library bought two full Polyglot Bibles, the 1660 London and the 1569 Plantin, as well as Hutter's Nuremberg polyglot New Testament.<sup>7</sup> Two Greek Old Testaments were purchased, including the 'Sixtine' edition of the Septuagint of 1587 and a licensed reprint with commentary by Jean Morin from 1628.<sup>8</sup> The New Testament is equally well-represented by an Imprimerie royale edition of 1642, a reprint of the 1624 Elsevier edition, and Flacius Illyrius's 1570 edition with Erasmus' revised notes.<sup>9</sup> Two Hebrew Bibles, the fifth (1524) and sixth (1618) editions of the *Biblia Rabbinica*, were joined by a copy of the 1582 Plantin Hebrew Bible with a Hebrew, rather than Latin, title page.<sup>10</sup> A copy of the Vulgate was acquired in 1655 in a 1630 Clementine edition (printed in Antwerp) at a cost of sixteen shillings, and was joined in the same delivery by a 1611 Bible edited by the Lutheran scholar Lucas Osiander.<sup>11</sup>

The importance of Bibles in the Library's early history should not be overstated, as the emphasis on size and expense can distort the intended employment of the early acquisitions by the divines of Manchester. Many of the Bibles purchased for the Library were intended for scholarly consultation, and not for the business of daily preaching. Moreover, many of the clergy who read at the Library already owned copies of the Bible, so they needed access to scholarly resources and apparatus relevant to preaching rather than the primary texts themselves. As a result, books designed for the purposes for preaching were the very first to be delivered. This is shown when the rate of acquisition for Bibles is set against that for biblical scholarly apparatus. Scholarly apparatus, including harmonies and concordances, were employed by early modern clergy and readers at the Library to counteract the 'information overload' that resulted from the huge volume of available biblical

<sup>6</sup> *Biblia Sacra* (Antwerp: Christoph Plantin, 1569); *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1657); Edmund Castell, *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1669).

<sup>7</sup> Elias Hutter, *Novum Testamentum* (Nuremberg: Heinrich Ulrich, 1599).

<sup>8</sup> *He Palaia Diatheke* (Rome: Zannetti, 1587); *He Palaia Diatheke* (Paris: Claude Sonnius, 1628).

<sup>9</sup> *He Kaine Diatheke* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1642); *Tes Tou Uiou Theou Kaines Diathekes Hapanta* (Basel: Theobald Dietrich, 1570).

<sup>10</sup> *Biblia Sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica* (Basel: Ludovic König, 1618); *Hamishah Humshe Torah* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1582).

<sup>11</sup> *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* (Antwerp: Hieronymi Verdussij, 1630); *Biblia Sacra* (Frankfurt: Nicolai Rothij & Gotheфриdi Tampachii, 1611).

material.<sup>12</sup> Combating information overload explains that while two-thirds of the Bibles were acquired before 1661, of all the concordances purchased all but two titles were delivered by October 1656.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, of the commentaries and harmonies, around four-fifths of the titles acquired between 1655 and 1700 were in fact delivered by 1661. The Library trustees acquired books that were immediately useful more quickly. In the same vein, annotations on the Bible focused on harder words and passages, which made them attractive to parish clergy, laity and profit-oriented booksellers, and were similarly rapidly acquired throughout 1655 and 1656. Overall, of the titles in the Accessions Register described as either biblical annotation or paraphrase, over two-thirds were acquired before 1661. Biblical apparatus was both expensive and difficult to navigate, but in the very earliest deliveries, the trustees decided that it was the most useful to preaching ministers. The speed of acquisition was similarly rapid in scholastic and dogmatic books. A selection of works by Thomas Aquinas came in the first delivery in August 1655, while nine works relating to Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* were delivered by May 1656.<sup>14</sup>

In the acquisition of biblical apparatus and scholastic titles before Bibles, Patrick Collinson's point about the cyclical character of seventeenth-century Biblical culture can be underlined. Such apparatus purchased by the Library enabled preaching ministers to direct the congregation into reading the Bible in order to support the points made by the divines themselves.<sup>15</sup> This assessment of the Library's essential theological acquisitions reinforces the point about the usefulness of texts in the early modern period. The acquisition of works to help scholars read the Bible came before the acquisition of copies of the Bible. The Library came first and foremost to serve the needs of the local clergy. In serving those needs, the acquisitions shaped a particularly English and Anglican identity in its holdings, as the number of titles purchased by the Library relating to early Christian literature demonstrates.

<sup>12</sup> Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload Ca. 1550–1700', pp. 11–28.

<sup>13</sup> Domenico Magri *Hierolexicon* (Rome: Pontius Bernardon, 1677); Johann Kaspar Suicer *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus* (Amsterdam: Henricus Wetstein, 1682).

<sup>14</sup> Thomas, *Theologiae Summa* (Lyon: Etienne Michel, 1588); Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum Libri* (Parisi: Richard Hamel, 1538).

<sup>15</sup> Patrick Collinson, Review of Christopher Hill's *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century*, Times Literary Supplement, April 9 1993.

*Forging an Anglican Identity through Patristic texts*

The Library's early acquisition of patristics is a more complicated example of what the trustees regarded as immediately useful and more valuable in the future. 'Patristics' is used here as shorthand for texts relating to theological treatises, scriptural commentaries, and the correspondence of the Church Fathers from the time of the New Testament to the end of the eighth century.<sup>16</sup> For both Roman Catholics, and the full variety of Protestants who laid claim to the title of the Church of England, the recovery of the rituals, beliefs, and institutions of the early church was critical to establishing the legitimacy of contemporary practice. The testimonies of the Fathers were a powerful force in confessional debates, and patristic authority depended upon the textual integrity and scholarly fidelity of the edition.<sup>17</sup>

Anglican identity in the middle of the seventeenth century drew heavily on the assumption that the Church of England was most akin to the primitive Church.<sup>18</sup> Such was the influence of the Fathers that Peter Heylyn entitled his biography of Archbishop Laud *Cyprianus Anglicus* in reference to Cyprian, another martyred Bishop and defender of a national church.<sup>19</sup> The claim that patristic learning made a godlier and devout ministry was therefore the premise of the various works of bibliographical advice published after the Restoration.<sup>20</sup> For Anglican supporters of episcopacy who appropriated the ante-Nicene Fathers, the acquisition of the best edition of patristic texts was a theological and bibliographical imperative that continued to be met throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Although only around a third of the total patristics holdings were purchased by 1661, they were for the most part a basic covering of patristic scholarship superior to many personal and institutional

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<sup>16</sup> Frances Young, 'Introduction', in Frances M. Young, Lewis Ayres and Andrew Louth, *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Justin Champion, 'To Know the Edition: erudition and polemic in eighteenth century clerical culture' in David Hayton and Muriel McCarthy (eds.), *The Making of Marsh's Library* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004) p. 123.

<sup>18</sup> Introduction to Cyril, *Sozomena* (Oxford: Richard Sare, 1703).

<sup>19</sup> Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (London: Anne Seile, 1668).

<sup>20</sup> Jean-Louis Quantin, 'The Fathers in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Anglican Theology', in Irena Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West* (Leiden: Brill 1997), p. 988.

<sup>21</sup> Justin Champion, 'To Know the Edition', p. 120.

collections.<sup>22</sup> The simplest test of the quality of the holdings is a discussion of the availability of the Fathers of the Church in their original languages. The Greek Fathers Athanasius, Gregory of Nazanzus and John Chrysostom were bought in both Greek and Latin editions by October 1656, although Basil the Great was available only in Latin.<sup>23</sup> There was a 1551 Froben edition of Basil's works in Greek, but Littlebury seems not to have been able to obtain a copy at the time.<sup>24</sup> The Library's eight-volume copy of the works of St John Chrysostom, the substantial contribution to early modern English biblical scholarship in Greek published at Eton College between 1610 and 1613, came to the Library in 1655.<sup>25</sup> The Latin Fathers (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great) were all acquired in printed form in Latin by the end of 1658.<sup>26</sup> Put simply, no institution could have asked for a better coverage of patristic works in their earliest acquisitions.

The printed editions of the Greek and Latin Fathers were joined by a fourteenth-century manuscript of Augustine's works, listed in the Accessions Register as *Tractatus Varij*, purchased from Robert Littlebury at a cost of £2.<sup>27</sup> Its price tag suggests the value that the trustees attached to such a document and to the works of the Fathers, but its medium is very unusual, because it was the only manuscript purchased by the Library between 1655 and 1661. Neil Ker's catalogue notes that it contains the same collection of 144 letters as an Augustine manuscript in the British Library, and is very similar to a manuscript of Augustine's work at Eton College.<sup>28</sup> For an institution so firmly concerned with the acquisition of printed books, the Library's justification for the purchase of a manuscript remains unclear, although it is possible to suggest some reasons for its presence. Augustine exerted a great influence on English theology and politics; around forty-three percent of patristic vernacular editions published in England after 1536 were attributed to Augustine, and the Library's acquisition reflects the

<sup>22</sup> *Emmanuel College*, p. 18; *Dr. Higgs*, p. 21; *Trinity College Appendix A*.

<sup>23</sup> Athanasius, *Ta Heuriskomena* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1627); Gregory, *Ta Heuriskomena* (Paris: Claude Morel, 1630); Basil, *Opera Omnia* (Basel: Haeredes Ioannis Heruagij, 1565).

<sup>24</sup> Basil, *Hapanta* (Basileae: Froben, 1551).

<sup>25</sup> John Chrysostom, *Ton heuriskomenon tomos protos* (Eton: John Norton, 1613).

<sup>26</sup> Ambrose, *Opera* (Basileae: Eusebium Episcopium, 1567); 1 Augustine, *Operum Omnium* (Basel: Froben, 1541); Gregory, *Opera* (Antuerpiae: Ioannem Keerbergium, 1615).

<sup>27</sup> Augustine, *Tractatus Varij*; N.R. Ker, Vol. 3, pp. 339–40.

<sup>28</sup> N.R. Ker, Vol. 2, pp. 717–18.

importance attached to Augustine at this time.<sup>29</sup> Admittedly, the manuscript duplicates much of what was provided in print form in the 1541 Froben edition produced by Nicolaus Episcopius, purchased by the Library in August 1655. Manuscripts did not fit with the rest of the Library's holdings, and the work itself simply provided texts already in the Library's holdings. Yet because Augustine was so popular and widely read, the trustees presumably felt that there was no need to complain to Littlebury about either the book's format or its duplication of titles elsewhere.

The Doctors of the Church from the patristic period were similarly well represented in the earliest acquisitions, with the Greek Fathers Cyril of Alexandria and John Damascene supplied by May 1656 in editions in both Greek and Latin.<sup>30</sup> Titles by Ephraem and Hilary were delivered by the end of May 1656, while St Isidore of Seville appeared in both Latin and Greek by 1660.<sup>31</sup> The Library's copy of Lactantius was the same edition as that in the library of Trinity College Cambridge, although works by Lactantius's teacher Arnobius were not acquired until 1671.<sup>32</sup> Works of patristic exegesis by Irenaeus, Tertullian and Clement, were acquired by the end of 1656.<sup>33</sup> In the acquisition of these expensive titles at this rate, the trustees obtained the works of the Fathers in the original languages and Latin in a very short space of time. Dependent upon patristic scholarship to express their specifically Anglican religious identity, the trustees felt that it was important to acquire the full range of the Fathers as quickly as possible.

Patristics remained an ongoing concern for the trustees throughout the seventeenth century, encompassing both the extensive French patrologies and the more specific English studies of the Fathers. The most significant patrology (a systematically arranged manual on

<sup>29</sup> William P. Haaugaard, 'Renaissance Patristic Scholarship and Theology in Sixteenth-Century England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10 (1979), p. 43.

<sup>30</sup> Cyril, *Opera* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1638); Cyril, *Opera* (Basel: Per Ioannis Heruagii, 1566); John of Damascus, *Hepta* (Basel: Ex officina Henricpetrina, 1575); John of Climacus, *Apanta* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1633).

<sup>31</sup> Ephraem, *Operum Omnium* (Rome: Iacobi Torner, 1589); Hilary, *Opera* (Paris: Apud Sebastian Nivell 1572); Isidore, *Opera Omnia* (Cologne: Sumptibus Antoine Hierat, 1617); Isidore, *Epistolon Biblia* (Paris: Claude Morel, 1638).

<sup>32</sup> Lactantius, *Opera* (Basel: Henri Petri, 1563); Origen, *Opera* (Basileae: Ludovicus Regis, 1571).

<sup>33</sup> Irenaeus, *Libri Quinque* (Geneva: Jean le Preux, 1570); Tertullian, *Opera* (Franeker: Gilles van den Rade, 1597); Clement, *Ta Euriskomena* (Paris: Charles Morel, 1629).

patristic literature), compiled in France by Marguerin de la Bigne, was acquired in 1665 in the twelve-volume 1618 Cologne edition, along with the five-volume 1624 Paris supplement.<sup>34</sup> The Library acquired a number of the monumental works produced by the Maurists, including a ten-volume 1679 Paris edition of Augustine.<sup>35</sup> The post-1661 acquisition of these later English patristic works demonstrates how later seventeenth-century English theologians pursued patristic learning in support of conservative and episcopal views. Although Jean Daillé's *Treatise Concerning the Right Use of the Fathers* (acquired by the Library in 1661) was a Protestant polemic against the patristic tradition, English theologians approached patristic sources more cautiously in order to establish the patriarchal independence of the Church of England. This approach to patristic authority meant that unlike the French Church, English theologians did not engage in making complete patrologies. Instead, they focused on specific texts, such as the Ignatian or other Pauline Epistles, including John Pearson's *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, which was acquired in 1674.<sup>36</sup>

The Anglican justification of episcopal authority relied upon the Fathers for its strength, and the Fathers of the Church played a part in the radicalisation of episcopatism and the evolution of the view held by many later seventeenth-century Anglican divines that episcopacy was intrinsic to the Church.<sup>37</sup> When John Fell introduced the New Year Books at the University Press, all but one were on patristic topics. Fell's crowning achievement, the very popular 1682 Oxford edition of Cyprian, was delivered to Chetham's Library in 1683.<sup>38</sup> Johnson and Stratford were both Anglican supporters of episcopacy, and they felt that the Library needed both the original texts of patristic scholarship as well as the later works of John Pearson and Henry Hammond. Similarly, Stratford's collaborators in the selection of texts for the delivery to the Library in September 1684, John Pearson and William Lloyd,

<sup>34</sup> Marguerin de La Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca* (Cologne: Antoine Hierat, 1618); Marguerin de La Bigne, *Bibliothecae Veterum Patrum Et Auctorum Ecclesiasticorum* (Paris: Compagnie du grand navire, 1624).

<sup>35</sup> Jean Mabillon, *Museum Italicum* (Paris: Edmund Martin, 1687); Jean Mabillon, *Veterum Analectorum* (Paris: Ludovicum Billaine, 1675).

<sup>36</sup> John Pearson, *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii* (Cambridge and London: John Hayes, William Wells & Robert Scott, 1672); William Cave, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1688).

<sup>37</sup> J.W. Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism, 1643–1660* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 66.

<sup>38</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 21 April 1694.



placed a similar emphasis on patristic texts as a means of defending the Church of England. Seven of the titles delivered in this packet were classed as patristics by the Library trustees, including the newly published collected works of Basil the Great, Jean Mabillon's *Veterum Analectorum* and Carlo Borromeo's *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*.<sup>39</sup>

The Library's acquisition of patristic titles offers a subtle redefinition of what the trustees regarded as important, in that patristics were deemed important enough to continue to be acquired throughout the seventeenth century, usually immediately after a title's publication. The trustees had acquired a creditable collection of patristic scholarship by 1661, but expanded upon this base with works printed in the British Isles as these titles emerged and redefined the English Church's position on episcopacy after the Restoration. The Library's holdings in patristics demonstrate the ongoing and changing interest in such texts for the defence of Anglican identity throughout the seventeenth century. Undeniably, the titles they regarded as essential did change between 1655 and 1700, not least in a move away from Continental scholarship and publishing to the home-grown thinkers and printing-houses of the British Isles, including the Oxford edition of Cyprian. It is this transition from Continental dependence to a viable 'British' scholarship that provides the next significant theme in the discussion of the Library's theological holdings.

### *The Usefulness of Continental and British Theology*

The dependence upon Continental Europe for Bible printing and scholarship means that the Library's considerably smaller number of English Bibles and Bibles printed in England (less than a third of the total number of Bibles) is hardly surprising. In his 1641 polemic *Scintilla* (a Latin joke on his own name) Sparke attacked the monopolies enjoyed by the Stationers' Company in the printing of the Bible, and hinted at the absurdity of prosecuting importers of Bibles from the Continent when such works were unavailable in England:

Observe London Stationers that bought of the Lattin Holland Bibles, punished in the High Commission... a yeare before there were any printed in London. Observe what a but of Sack might doe.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Basil, *Basilius Magnus Ex Integro Recensitus* (Parisiis: Roberti J.B. de La Caille, 1679); Carlo Borromeo, *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Lugduni: Officina Anissoniana, 1682).

<sup>40</sup> Michael Sparke, *Scintilla* (London: Michael Sparke, 1641).



Sparke's point here about the dependence of English scholars on Continental editions throughout the seventeenth century is supported by the evidence of the Library's theological purchases before 1661. By the end of the century, as English scholars had access to increasingly powerful printing houses in London, Oxford and Cambridge, this intellectual and book-trade dependence came to an end. The Library's acquisitions reflected this transition, characterised by shifts in the language of the theological holdings from Latin to English as well as a reduction in the number of second-hand titles purchased towards the end of the century.

The Library's early theological holdings demonstrate the dependence upon Continental scholarship and the Latin trade in the mid-seventeenth century. Around eight hundred theological titles were delivered before 1661, of which only a sixth had been published in England. Latin titles printed on the Continent were overwhelmingly in the majority. Nearly ninety percent were in Latin, with a handful each in Greek and Hebrew. Many of the works came from the leading Continental printing houses with which Littlebury had connections, along what Andrew Pettegree describes as the 'steel spine' of printing houses. Titles in vernacular languages up to 1661 were limited to one work in Italian (published in London rather than Italy), and the eighty works published in English. These statistics should come as no surprise to students of intellectual history in early modern Britain. Robert Littlebury had been employed to supply the Library precisely because he was an expert in sourcing Bibles, and because he was a well-established second-hand book dealer and importer through the Latin trade. The tables below demonstrate the heavy dependence upon Continental printing houses for the Library's pre-1661 theological acquisitions. Of significance for the study of textual reception at Chetham's Library are the intellectual and book-trade changes in the patterns of theological acquisition by 1700, as they chart a series of changes in British scholarly life that took place in the last half of the seventeenth century.

By 1700, the origins of the Library's theological holdings had changed considerably. Nearly a quarter of the total number of theological titles in the Library had been published in England, and more than a quarter had been published after 1655. In fact, more than a third of the theological titles acquired after 1661 had been published after 1661, including a large number of new titles purchased within a year of their publication.

The scholarly coverage of the whole Bible described here was a relatively recent occurrence. In 1595, the London bookseller Andrew

Table 11. Percentage (%) total theological acquisitions by city of publication and period of acquisition<sup>41</sup>

| Place of publication | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1655–1700 |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Amsterdam            | 3.73      | 4.91      | 4.20      |
| Antwerp              | 5.17      | 4.62      | 4.92      |
| Basel                | 6.74      | 1.88      | 4.53      |
| Cambridge            | 1.93      | 1.15      | 1.57      |
| Cologne              | 5.66      | 1.73      | 3.74      |
| Douai                | 0.60      | 0.72      | 0.66      |
| Frankfurt am Main    | 3.13      | 1.73      | 2.49      |
| Geneva               | 7.22      | 1.44      | 4.59      |
| Leiden               | 2.65      | 2.74      | 2.69      |
| London               | 12.5      | 26.7      | 19.0      |
| Louvain              | 0.24      | 1.30      | 0.72      |
| Lyon                 | 6.98      | 5.48      | 6.30      |
| Mainz                | 3.49      | 0.43      | 2.10      |
| Oxford               | 2.05      | 3.90      | 2.89      |
| Paris                | 11.8      | 17.6      | 14.4      |
| Rome                 | 0.96      | 2.31      | 1.57      |
| Utrecht              | 0.96      | 0.43      | 0.72      |
| Venice               | 3.37      | 6.06      | 4.59      |
| Zurich               | 5.90      | 0.72      | 3.54      |
| Number of places     | 831       | 693       | 1524      |

Maunsell drew up a catalogue in which he noted that no commentaries or sermons at all were listed for the books of Leviticus, Numbers or Ezekiel, and that there was a choice of commentary for only fifteen of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, most of them of Continental origin.<sup>42</sup> By the 1640s, John Verneuil's *A Nomenclator of such tracts and sermons* in the Bodleian Library and, in the 1660s, Crowe's *Exact Collection* told a very different story, of coverage of the whole Bible by a variety of commentators in a variety of languages,

<sup>41</sup> Not all places of publication are represented here.

<sup>42</sup> Andrew Maunsell, *The First Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (London: Andrew Maunsell, 1595), pp. 10–21.

Table 12. Percentage (%) theological acquisitions by date of publication and period of acquisition

|           | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1655–1700 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1481–1500 | 0.12      | 0.14      | 0.14      |
| 1501–1520 | 0.48      | 0.29      | 0.41      |
| 1521–1540 | 1.56      | 0.72      | 1.22      |
| 1541–1560 | 2.77      | 2.45      | 2.71      |
| 1561–1580 | 8.42      | 2.60      | 5.97      |
| 1581–1600 | 15.2      | 3.32      | 10.1      |
| 1601–1620 | 24.4      | 8.37      | 17.7      |
| 1621–1640 | 30.0      | 15.4      | 20.8      |
| 1641–1660 | 17.0      | 17.2      | 17.6      |
| 1661–1680 | 0.12      | 31.6      | 14.9      |
| 1681–1700 | 0         | 17.9      | 8.41      |

augmented in recent times by English scholarship.<sup>43</sup> What is particularly striking is the growth of British scholarship from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge that stood at the intersection of scholarly progress, the book trade and usefulness for the preaching clergy.

Works by four writers illuminate this growth in English scholarship, powered by the universities and the book trade. John Pearson, one of Nicholas Stratford's predecessors as Bishop of Chester, was the author of *Critici Sacri*, acquired by the Library in 1661 at a cost of £15. Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* was purchased in 1678 for £7; Simon Patrick's paraphrases on the Pentateuch were delivered in April 1685 for £4 2s., and Edward Pococke's numerous commentaries on the prophets of the Old Testament were acquired throughout the later part of the century.<sup>44</sup> Biblical commentaries and harmonies had, during the Library's early history, been drawn almost entirely from Continental Europe, including Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* and a 1653

<sup>43</sup> John Verneuil, *Catalogus Interpretum S. Scripturae* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1635); William Crowe, *The Catalogue of Our English Writers* (London: Thomas Williams, 1668).

<sup>44</sup> John Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (London *et al.*: Cornelius Bee *et al.*, 1660); Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (London: J. Flesher, 1660); Simon Patrick, *Genesis* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1695); Edward Pococke, *Micah* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1677).

Leiden edition of Beza's *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici*.<sup>45</sup> The later English acquisitions were a marked improvement in a number of ways. They were, as Crowe's work listed, easier to use and covered many more books of the Bible. Patrick's paraphrases were popular because they 'avoided the pedantry of many earlier [Continental] works', and they passed through four editions in forty years.<sup>46</sup> Similarly well-received were the works of Edward Pococke, who had turned to biblical commentary after an abortive attempt by John Fell at Oxford to publish an annotated Bible in 1672.<sup>47</sup> Pococke spent the last fifteen years of his life devoted to producing commentaries on the prophets of the Old Testament, intended to defend the soundness of the generally received Hebrew texts and to improve the English translation in the Authorised Version.<sup>48</sup>

The success of these works was not simply because of the quality of the scholarship, but a consequence of their distribution and reception, which made their acquisition by Chetham's Library all the more significant. Many of these works owed their existence to the support of the universities and to unorthodox conditions of production. At Oxford John Fell was instrumental in encouraging and supporting the publication of Pococke's works, while Pearson's *Critici Sacri* tapped into the same financial, political and clerical networks of subscribers who supported the London Polyglot Bible of the same year.<sup>49</sup> Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* was a success because it was sold in smaller units by a conger of publishers and scholars. The piecemeal production of the title is testified to by the variety of publishers' names and collaborators on the title page. Copies of Pococke's commentaries on the Old Testament prophets delivered in 1685 and 1700 were superseded by later purchases of later editions (including the 1692 edition of the *Commentary on Hosea*), and again by the *Theological Works* of 1740.<sup>50</sup>

Both Littlebury and Smith imported a number of newly published titles from the Continent, including from the Wetstein family in

<sup>45</sup> Theodore Beza, *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici* (Leiden: Adrian Wyngaerden, 1653).

<sup>46</sup> Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 118.

<sup>47</sup> Falconer Madan, 'The Oxford Press, 1650–75: The Struggle for a Place in the Sun', *The Library*, 4 (1925), p. 143.

<sup>48</sup> G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning*, p. 276.

<sup>49</sup> Nicolas Barker, 'The Polyglot Bible', *CHBB* IV, pp. 648–51.

<sup>50</sup> Edward Pococke, *Theological Works* (London: R. Gosling, 1740).

Amsterdam.<sup>51</sup> What the theological holdings demonstrate was the initial dependence on second-hand Continental scholarship in Latin, and the subsequent shift towards vernacular scholarship printed in England in English after the Restoration. As an example of the lengths to which the trustees went and the speed at which they acquired theological works, the Library acquired no fewer than nine titles relating to the Minor Prophets between 1655 and 1661. Many of the items were commentaries, ranging from that of Jean Mercier from 1570 to newly published work by Johannes Coccejus, were acquired in the first couple of deliveries to the Library.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, all of these nine commentaries on the Minor Prophets had been published in Latin on the Continent, which reinforces the fact that many of the Library's holdings were beyond the needs of many of the divines and professionals of the town; Henry Newcome, one of the Library's earliest supporters and a regular reader, referred in his diary not to the Library's Continental stock but rather to 'ye English bookes' and 'ye English Library', neither of which terms suggest that he used the Library's extensive Continental collections on a regular basis.<sup>53</sup>

The acquisition of so many Continental titles was part of the encouragement of wider scholarly learning in and around north-west England, and not simply the creation of a library to serve the immediate needs of preaching clergy. This section has examined the shifts and changes in the bibliographical forms of the Library's acquisitions; the next three sections address the changing reception of works relating to Calvinist thought in Manchester throughout the seventeenth century.

### *Calvin, Calvinism and Calvinists*

Richard Johnson was an eirenic High Church Calvinist who knew the book trade and knew what a scholarly library needed from the time he spent in London at the Middle Temple. Nicholas Stratford was a staunch defender of episcopacy, and being of a later generation to

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<sup>51</sup> Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Epitome Rerum Romanarum* (Amsterdam: Henricus Wetstein, 1692).

<sup>52</sup> Jean Mercier, *In Prophetas Quinque Priores Inter Eos Qui Minores Vocantur* (Geneva?: H. Estienne?, 1570); Johannes Coccejus, *To Dodekapropheton Sive Prophetarum Duodecim Minores* (Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Johannem & Danielem Elsevier, 1652).

<sup>53</sup> Henry Newcome, *The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome: from September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663* (Manchester: Printed for the Chetham Society, 1849), passim.

Johnson, had subtly different views on the twin spectres of seventeenth-century English theology, Popery and Arminianism. This section explores how the theological acquisitions changed over time under different trustees, and how the Library sloughed off Calvinist theology in favour of writers described (or stigmatised) as 'Latitudinarian' in the 1650s and 1660s.<sup>54</sup> Although the process of ordering and acquisition is covered in much greater detail elsewhere, the intervention of two prelates in 1684 illuminates this transition very well.

In 1655, the Library's readers and contemporary scholars would have characterised the tone of the Library's acquisitions as 'Calvinist', in that it was strongly evangelical and that it adhered to the Reformed theology of Grace. Although rooted in predestinarian doctrine, the sources of this Calvinism were multifarious, and included Luther and the teachings of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr. Works by Calvin and Calvinist theologians were high priorities. Richard Johnson's Calvinism is obvious in the number of works of Calvinist scholarship that were acquired by the Library before 1661, both original reformers and second-generation scholars drawn particularly from the Swiss tradition. The collected set of Calvin's work, built up from titles printed in Geneva between 1584 and 1610, was delivered in 1656, and covered his commentaries on four books of the Old Testament, eight of the New Testament, his harmony on the Gospels and his series of sermons on at least another eight books, as well as a copy of the *Institutes* of the Christian Religion.<sup>55</sup>

The preponderance of Calvin's harmonies over the *Institutes* at the Library adds further weight to Jane Freeman's argument that more readers encountered Calvin's writings and thought through his commentaries than through the *Institutes*.<sup>56</sup> English theologians had borrowed significantly if selectively from Swiss Calvinism, so a number of works of Swiss Calvinism were deemed essential in 1655, including three titles by Beza, two by Bucer and three by Franciscus Gomarus.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> John Spurr, 'Latitudinarianism and the Restoration Church', pp. 81–2.

<sup>55</sup> The inscription handwritten on the *Institutes*' title page was, 'Praeter Apostolicas, post Christi tempore chartas, Huic peperere libro secula nulla parem' 'This couplet by the Hungarian Calvinist Paul Thurius (a pupil of the Calvinist Hungarian István Kis of Szeged) had been printed in a number of later editions of Calvin's *Institutes*, including Kis's *Theologiae sinceræ loci communes*.

<sup>56</sup> Jane Freeman, 'The Parish Ministry in the Diocese of Durham, c.1570–1640' (Unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University, 1979) pp. 52–53.

<sup>57</sup> Theodore Beza, *Tractationum Theologicarum* (Geneva: Eustache Vignon, 1582); Martin Bucer, *Psalmorum Libri Quinque* (Geneva: Robert Estienne, 1554); Martin

Although it is always important to question the extent to which Calvin himself was a 'Calvinist' in any discussion of early modern Calvinism, the Library received Calvin's works as a gift. At some point before 1691, the Manchester parliamentarian army officer John Birch gave the Library eight volumes of his work in French. John Birch was a friend of Henry Newcome, who preached at the funeral of Birch's mother; Thomas Birch, John's brother, held Hampton Bishop rectory near Hereford between 1654 and 1683, and became a fellow of Manchester Collegiate Church.<sup>58</sup> Birch's gift was not recorded in the Library's Accessions Register, although the donation of such titles reinforced the Calvinist aspect of the Library's acquisitions. The gift of such an item shows that Calvin and Calvinist writers were popular among readers at the Library in the later seventeenth century, and that Birch's gift was part of a desire to make Calvin's thought accessible in vernacular languages in Manchester. Gifts to the Library are problematic pieces of evidence with regard to the reception of texts in Manchester, but their acquisition at this time offers some evidence of the popularity of Calvinist thought in the period.

Luther and Lutheran scholarship were important parts of the intellectual diet of 'Calvinism' as understood by seventeenth-century contemporaries. Luther's complete works were delivered in 1655 at a cost of £6 10s., although the trustees failed to notice that the last (seventh) volume was missing, and a substitute was never supplied.<sup>59</sup> As part of the Calvinist Encyclopaedic tradition, seven volumes of works by the German Protestant writer Johann Heinrich Alsted were delivered in May 1656 at a cost of £1 8s.<sup>60</sup> Howard Hotson's analysis of the reception of Alsted in England in the later seventeenth century includes a brief discussion of the reception of Alsted in Manchester, and uses the evidence provided by Chetham's Library to argue for the ongoing popularity of Alsted's thought in provincial libraries and readers outside the universities.<sup>61</sup>

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Bucer, *Enarrationes* (Geneva: Robert Estienne, 1553); Franciscus Gomarus, *Opera Theologica* (Amsterdam: John Jansson, 1644).

<sup>58</sup> Henry Newcome, *Diary*, p. 205n; J.P. Ferris, in B. D. Henning (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1660–90* (London: History of Parliament Trust, 1983), Vol. 1, p. 660.

<sup>59</sup> Martin Luther, *Omnium Operum* (Wittenberg: Typis Zachariae Lehmani, 1557–82).

<sup>60</sup> Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Theologia Polemica* (Hanover: Konrad Eifrid, 1620).

<sup>61</sup> Howard Hotson, 'A Generall Reformation of Common Learning' and its Reception in the English-Speaking World, in Patrick Collinson and Polly Ha (eds.), *The Reception of Continental Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 222.

While these Calvinist titles were for the most part second-hand sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century works, the Library purchased a 1642 Cambridge edition of the New Testament, a reprint of Beza's fourth major edition of 1598.<sup>62</sup> This ongoing commitment to the Library's Calvinist character goes in some way to explain the absence of a number of Arminian and Socinian titles from the Library's earliest purchases, unorthodox pattern of acquisition of Arminian titles in the 1660s and 1670s, and the shift in Library purchases in the 1660s from Calvinism to Latitudinarianism. Once again, the defence of the Church of England provided reasons for a title's acquisition. The changing character of English religion and politics in this period meant that very different types of works were acquired for the same purpose.

*In Defence of the Church of England: Arminianism and Socinianism*

Often conflated or confused, Arminianism and Socinianism were two seventeenth-century theological engagements with rational thinking. Arminianism was the fruit of work by Jacobus Arminius which sought to revise Calvin's doctrine of predestination, while Socinianism was an anti-Trinitarian doctrine that drew on the thinking of Faustus Socinus (1539–1604) and which had found fuller expression in the publication in the Racovian Catechism of 1603. Socinian teaching on predestination overlapped with the Arminians, so on at least one occasion, the writer William Chillingworth (whose *Religion of Protestants* was acquired by the Library in 1656) was accused of being both at the same time.<sup>63</sup> The meaning of 'Arminian' remains controversial. In the early modern period, 'Arminian' was used more as a term of abuse than an accurate theological characterisation, and heated scholarly debate over the existence of Arminianism ran for many years in the journal *Past and Present* between Nicholas Tyacke, Peter White and Peter Lake.<sup>64</sup> While there is too little space here to outline the debate in any detail, it should be noted that the Library's acquisitions intersect with the historical debate on, and the contemporary reception of, Arminian

<sup>62</sup> Theodore Beza, *Novum Foeus* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1642).

<sup>63</sup> William Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants* (Oxford: John Clarke, 1638).

<sup>64</sup> Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', *Past and Present*, 115 (1987), pp. 201–216; Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', *Past and Present*, 101 (1983), pp. 34–54; Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570–1635', *Past and Present*, 114 (1987), pp. 32–76; Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered: A Rejoinder', *Past and Present*, 115 (1987), pp. 217–29.



thought in England. They thus have more than a purely antiquarian significance for the understanding of the resources available to readers at Chetham's Library in the mid-seventeenth century.

Much akin to the acquisition of patristic works, the acquisition of books for the defence of the Church of England provided the rationale for the pattern of acquisition of titles opposed to Arminianism and Socinianism before 1661, and the acquisition of works of Arminian and Socinian thought after that date. Before 1661, anti-Arminian titles were acquired rapidly and extensively. Nicolaus Vedel's *De Arcanis Arminianismi* was purchased in 1655, as were Johannes Corvinus' *Censura Anatomes Arminianismi* and Pierre du Moulin's *Anatome Arminianismi*.<sup>65</sup> From English theological writers, early anti-Arminian titles purchased included George Abbot (acquired in 1655), the puritan writer John Rainolds (acquired in two Oxford editions in 1655), two volumes by the unremittingly Calvinist Bishop of Worcester, John Prideaux (acquired in 1655), and John Owen's 1654 treatise *The Doctrine of the Saints Perseverance* (acquired in October 1656).<sup>66</sup> Anti-Socinian acquisitions were similarly rapidly delivered. Early acquisitions were titles that attacked it, and from 1655 to 1661 included Johannes Peltius' *Harmonia Remonstrantium & Socinianorum*, Johannes Hornbeek's *Socinianismi Confutati*, Johann Völkel's *Hydra Socinianismi Expugnata* and Anthony Burgess' *True Doctrine of Justification Asserted*.<sup>67</sup>

The defence for the Church against the dangers of Arminianism provides an explanation of the rate of acquisition of these works. One consistent feature of the Reformed acquisitions is the inclusion of works by the most famous bishops with Calvinist leanings with whom the trustees agreed. The absence of extensive quantities of Arminian thought is suggestive of a distinctly nervous attitude on the part of the trustees towards this doctrine, preferring as they did to reinforce Calvinist orthodoxy by the acquisition of anti-Arminian titles. Perhaps

<sup>65</sup> Nicolaus Vedel, *Arcanis Arminianismi* (Leiden: Franciscus Hegerus, 1632); Johannes Arnoldi Corvinus, *Noui Anatomici Mala Encheiresis* (Frankfurt am Main: Erasmus Kempffer, 1622); Pierre Du Moulin, *Anatome Arminianismi* (Leiden: Jacob Marcus, 1621).

<sup>66</sup> George Abbot, *Exposition Vpon the Prophet Ionah* (London: Richard Field, 1613); John Prideaux *Viginti-Duae Lectiones* (Oxford: Henry Hall, 1648), John Owen, *The Doctrine of the Saints Perseverance* (Oxford: Thomas Robinson, 1654).

<sup>67</sup> Joannes Peltius, *Harmonia Remonstrantium* (Leiden: Isaac Commelinus, 1633); Johannes Hoornbeek, *Socinianismi Confutati* (Utrecht: Johannis van Waesberge, 1655); Johann Völkel, *Hydra Socinianismi* (Groningen: Joannem Nicolaum, 1651); Anthony Burgess, *Iustification Asserted* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1648).

such an absence can be explained by the beginnings of a pre-Restoration glossing over of events that were still too close to be considered objectively, an understandable motivation given Manchester's reputation in the period for factious dispute and unstable religious politics, and as part of Humphrey Chetham's desire to heal and settle the wounds of the historical past.

The acquisition of Arminian and Socinian titles, even if they were opposed to each other before and after 1661, reflected how the intellectual ammunition of the defence of the Church of England changed over the course of the later seventeenth century. The defence of the Church, and particularly the episcopal Church, was the justification for the acquisition of works by a number of Arminian and Socinian writers after 1661. The later acquisition of Arminian scholarship, both Continental and English, reflected the changing reception of Arminian thought after the Restoration and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Nicholas Tyacke has shown that the Arminianism of the later seventeenth century was sturdy, intellectually robust and owed much to both English and Dutch Arminian movements, which had 'now increasingly converged'.<sup>68</sup> The Library's acquisition of both English and Dutch Arminian theological titles from the 1670s onwards, exemplified by the collected works of Episcopius and Courcelles, was part of that shifting reception of Arminianism in this period.

The reception of Socinianism at the Library followed a similar pattern. There had been a concern at Oxford in the 1650s and 1660s with Socinianism and its anti-Trinitarian aspect, but this had receded as the century went on. Reflecting this change, Chetham's Library first received material opposed to Socinianism, and then received a number of books supportive of Socinianism as the century advanced. The eight volumes of the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* were delivered in 1686. Works by Socinus himself came in 1687, and titles by Szlichtingius and Przykowski were delivered in 1672 and 1687.<sup>69</sup> In the first major piece of work on Socinianism in England in the seventeenth century for fifty years, Sarah Mortimer argues that the defence of episcopacy by theologians such as Henry Hammond owed much to an engagement with Socinian thinking:

<sup>68</sup> Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 336.

<sup>69</sup> Jonasz Szlichting *De Moralibus* (N.p.: n.p., 1637); Samuel Przykowski, *Dissertatio* (N.p.: n.p., 1637).

They saw in Socinianism, when modified in a particular direction, the means to build a case for the independent authority of the Church... which would enable her to survive outside the magistrate's protection.<sup>70</sup>

It was the incorporation of Socinian thought into works supportive of episcopacy in the second half of the seventeenth century that characterised the books ordered by Nicholas Stratford and his episcopal colleagues, William Lloyd and John Pearson. The Library's acquisitions reflect the varying intellectual needs of the Library trustees throughout the period. To continue the analysis of the shifts and changes in the Library's holdings, the next section addresses how latitudinarian clerics such as Nicholas Stratford influenced the Library's holdings in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century.

### *The Shift from Calvinism to Latitudinarianism*

Whereas Richard Johnson had sought to fill the Library with Calvinist texts, both Nicholas Stratford and Richard Wroe shared a Latitudinarian outlook, sympathetic to Arminian theology from both England and the Continent, and concerned to defend the episcopal structure of the Church of England. Nicholas Stratford's Latitudinarianism was informed by education at Oxford, and it is hardly a surprise that the later seventeenth-century acquisitions were strongly latitudinarian in tone. On Stratford's orders, Henry Hammond's works were delivered to the Library in 1674, Robert Sanderson's in 1681, and Edward Stillingfleet's between 1674 and 1685.<sup>71</sup> Stratford's strong views on the divine right of episcopacy and monarchy were no doubt instrumental in his appointment as Chaplain-in-ordinary to the King in 1673 and as Bishop of Chester in 1689. While the Library did not record the acquisition of individual printed sermons or tracts, it did acquire the collected sermons of a number of defenders of episcopacy, including Anthony Farindon and Peter Gunning.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Sarah Mortimer, 'Exile, Apostasy and Anglicanism', in Philip Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and Its Aftermath, 1640–1680* (Aldershot: Ashgate, forthcoming, 2010).

<sup>71</sup> Henry Hammond, *Workes* (London: Richard Royston, 1674); Robert Sanderson, *Twenty Sermons* (London: Henry Seile, 1656); Edward Stillingfleet, *Sermons* (London: Henry Mortlock, 1673).

<sup>72</sup> Anthony Farindon, *XXX. Sermons Lately Preached At Saint Mary Magdalen Milkstreet London* (London: Richard Marriot, 1657); Peter Gunning, *The Paschal or Lent-Fast* (London: Timothy Garthwait, 1662).

Nicholas Stratford's influence on the Library was Anglican and episcopal, and the strength of that influence is reinforced when Stratford's connections to William Lloyd and John Pearson are considered. Stratford had sought Lloyd and Pearson's advice in 1684 for a list of Continental titles to be ordered from Robert Littlebury. Importantly, both Pearson and Lloyd were staunch defenders of the Church of England and of episcopacy. In that year, Lloyd had published his *An Historical Account of Church-Government*, a defence of the episcopal governance of the early British church, while Pearson wrote his dissertations on the successions of Roman bishops in 1683.<sup>73</sup> The Library's holdings of these later seventeenth-century titles relating to Latitudinarianism and episcopacy compare very well indeed with similar titles held at the Cathedral Library at St Asaph, in which William Lloyd himself had a hand in constituting in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Titles in Chetham's Library included works by Pearson's predecessor as Bishop of Chester John Wilkins, and sermons by the Bishop of Bath and Wells Richard Kidder, the Bishop of Salisbury Gilbert Burnet and the Bishop of Winchester, George Morley.<sup>74</sup> The library at St Asaph had a similarly large number of sermons and works by Stillingfleet, Pearson, Burnet, Wilkins, Kidder, Allestree and Morley, although the library at St Asaph did not have enough money to be extensively stocked with Continental books as was Chetham's Library in this period.<sup>75</sup> As a point of further comparison with St Asaph, it is worth noting that while St Asaph acquired many of the works relating to the apocalypse by Gilbert Burnet, Chetham's Library did not. Tony Claydon has argued recently that Gilbert Burnet's view of the end of the world distinguished him from many other Latitudinarian clerics. Claydon's analysis of Burnet reminds historians that Latitudinarianism was far from a coherent philosophical position. The Library's acquisitions therefore provide evidence about the titles that formed a Latitudinarian mindset as much as reflect the views of Latitudinarian clerics.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> William Lloyd, *An Historical Account of Church-Government* (London: Charles Brome, 1684).

<sup>74</sup> Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messiah* (London: B. Aylmer, 1684); Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Rights of Princes* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1682); George Morley, *Several Treatises* (London: Joanna Brome, 1683).

<sup>75</sup> William Morton, *A Catalogue of the Books in the St. Asaph Cathedral Library* (London: T. Richards, 1878).

<sup>76</sup> Tony Claydon, 'Latitudinarianism and Apocalyptic History in the Worldview of Gilbert Burnet, 1643?–1715', *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), p. 595.

The Library's theological acquisitions mark a change from the Calvinism of Richard Johnson to the episcopacy and Latitudinarianism of Nicholas Stratford. The defence of the identity of the Church of England explains the patterns of acquisition for patristic works throughout the seventeenth century, to the changing attitudes towards Arminianism and Socinianism during the period, and to the later interest in episcopacy. The specific evidence in the correspondence of Pearson and Lloyd's work for the Library provides a rare opportunity to explore directly the influence of a group or an individual on the Library's holdings. Stratford's influence can be seen in the acquisition of Christian Hebrew scholarship in the latter part of the seventeenth century, as the next section demonstrates.

*'The Wisdom of the East': Hebraica*

The term 'the wisdom of the east' is paraphrased from a letter from Robert Huntington to John Locke describing the early modern Christian and scientific interest in Hebrew, Arabic and other oriental languages. Not that it is easy to define what that interest was, and what motivated it. Philip Alexander points out that 'it is impossible to over-stress the diversity and complexity of Christian interest in Hebrew studies,' except that it was bound up with the Reformation challenge to traditional authority.<sup>77</sup> The interest in Hebrew went far beyond the Hebrew Bible, as Hebrew, Arabic and Semitic philology was equally important. Hebrew and Arabic scholarship reached its zenith in England with the publication of works by John Selden, James Ussher, and Edward Pococke, and the lexicons and Bibles edited by Brian Walton, Edmund Castell and Samuel Clarke. Arabic studies had been advanced at Oxford before the Civil War by Archbishop Laud through his encouragement of the 'learned press' and the endowment of an Arabic professorship at the University to be filled by Edward Pococke; the Arabic type bought by John Greaves in 1647 for Oxford was in use until 1768. After the Civil War, when Edward Pococke was elected to the board of the Delegates of the Press, Oxford University Press was intimately connected with plans for publication in Arabic and other

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<sup>77</sup> Philip S. Alexander, 'How much Hebrew did the King James Translators know? Christian Hebraism in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries,' Public Lecture, John Rylands Library Deansgate, Manchester, 18 October 2007. I am grateful to Professor Alexander for a copy of the lecture.

oriental languages.<sup>78</sup> In the 1660s, John Fell produced an ambitious list of future Arabic and Hebrew projects, although the plan did not bear fruit.<sup>79</sup> What Fell's ambition signified was a growing recognition by scholars of the power of print in the establishment of Hebrew, Arabic and Semitic scholarship. In England, this effort culminated in the 1657 London Polyglot Bible, edited by Nicholas Stratford's predecessor as Bishop of Chester, Brian Walton, and which was purchased by Chetham's Library in 1660.<sup>80</sup>

Chetham's Library acquired a wealth of titles relating to Christian Hebraism and Oriental scholarship. Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, a number of works by the orientalist Johannes Hottinger, and William Alabaster's *Lexicon Pentaglotton* form the core of the polyglot dictionaries and philology, including a number of translations of the Bible; a 1591 New Testament in Arabic and Latin was acquired in 1656.<sup>81</sup> The Library's copy of the 1524 *Biblia Rabbinica* has marginal annotations by its former owner, Thomas Wakefield, later Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge.<sup>82</sup> Works by converts from Judaism to Christianity feature, including the Old and New Testaments published by Immanuel Tremellius.<sup>83</sup> Inevitably, a number of works on Rabbinical and Hebrew topics by Selden, Pococke, Ussher and Stillingfleet were purchased, including Pococke's *Eutychiis*, *Porta Mosis* and his commentaries on the Minor Prophets.<sup>84</sup>

The Library's acquisition of works relating to Hebrew and Eastern scholarship demonstrates two connected issues about the reception of Hebrew texts in Manchester in the later seventeenth century. First, there was a need for Hebrew books in Manchester at this period, and the Library trustees were engaged in stocking the Library with some of the very best printed material available in Hebraism in the period.

<sup>78</sup> G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning*, p. 278.

<sup>79</sup> Harry Carter, *A History of the Oxford University Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 63.

<sup>80</sup> D. S. Margoliouth, 'Walton, Brian (1600–61)', *ODNB*.

<sup>81</sup> Joannes Baptista Raymundus, *Quatuor Evangelia* (Rome: In typographia Medicea, 1591).

<sup>82</sup> James Carley, 'Religious Controversy and Marginalia: Pierfrancesco Di Piero Bardi, Thomas Wakefield, and Their Books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 206–45.

<sup>83</sup> Immanuel Tremellius, *He Kaine Diatheke* (Geneva: Henri Estienne, 1569); Immanuel Tremellius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra* (Hanover: Daniel & David Aubret, 1624).

<sup>84</sup> G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning*, p. 275.



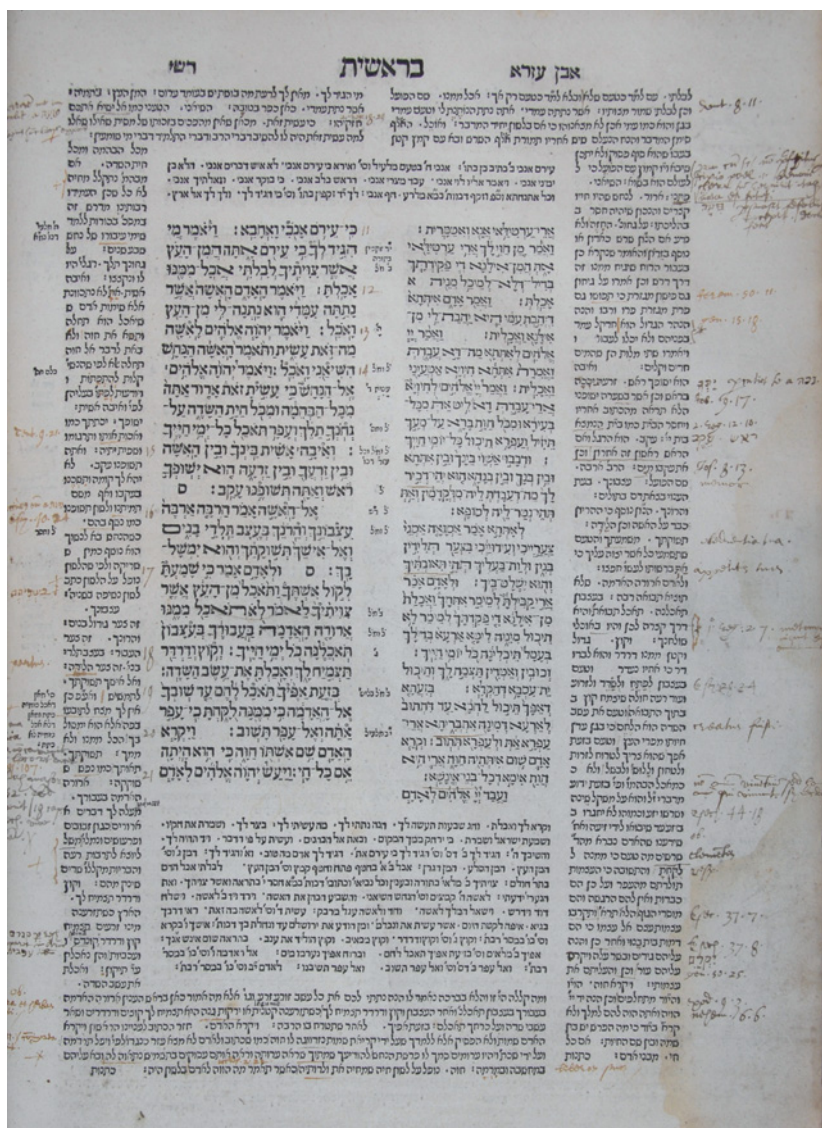


Figure 16: Marginal annotations in Library copy of 1524 *Biblia Rabbinica*.

Second, the holdings represent the high point of seventeenth-century English scholarship on Hebrew and Eastern matters, and in their provision in Manchester they chart the laicisation and popularisation of previously unavailable and inaccessible scholarship in the provinces.

Chetham's Library stood at the crossroads of the very learned and the very popular. By the mid-seventeenth century, when the fifth *Biblia Rabbinica* (annotated by Thomas Wakefield and at least one other reader) reached Manchester, Hebrew was a necessary accomplishment of any serious English divine. Moreover, in Manchester and among the clergy of north-west England, there is some evidence of what Colin Phillips calls Hebrew, Greek and Latin 'trilingualism', which suggests a receptive audience for Hebrew scholarship of the kind purchased by Chetham's Library. Phillips' case for clerical 'trilingualism' comes from a brass plaque in Great Budworth Church, which commemorates its vicar Ephraim Elcock, who died at the end of 1656, and which was composed by Adam Martindale, who was vicar of the next parish of Rostherne.<sup>85</sup> The plaque, which quotes Proverbs 14:32, is in three languages; the top section is in Hebrew, the next in Greek, the next in Latin, the next in English and the bottom again in Latin.<sup>86</sup> Working from Colin Phillips' evidence, Philip Alexander has analysed the plaque and tracked its employment of scriptural interpretations from the Hebrew commentators Ibn Ezra and Rashi and the literal Latin interlinear version of the Hebrew in the London Polyglot Bible, and argues that this suggests considerable knowledge of Hebrew in north-west England at the time.<sup>87</sup> Even more striking is that fact that the author (and possible engraver) of the plaque was Adam Martindale, himself a reader at Chetham's Library in the later part of the seventeenth century.<sup>88</sup> According to his autobiography, Martindale did not go to university, but was taught Latin and Greek at school and learned Hebrew using Wilhelm Schickard's *Horologium Hebraeum*.<sup>89</sup> After 1670, he was involved in teaching 'Hebrew and university learning' in Cheshire. The experience of Martindale and Elcock thus suggests that there was an audience for complex Hebrew scholarship in north-west England beyond university-educated readers, and that individuals capable of reading Hebrew read at Chetham's Library. The acquisition of titles in this area at Chetham's Library reflects both the achievements of

<sup>85</sup> Colin Phillips, 'What's in a Plaque? Exploring a Cheshire memorial plaque of 1657', unpublished lecture to Weaverham Historical Society, 8 May 2007.

<sup>86</sup> 'The wicked is driven away in his wickedness: but the righteous hath hope in his death.'

<sup>87</sup> Philip S. Alexander, 'How much Hebrew did the King James Translators know?'

<sup>88</sup> Adam Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale*, pp. 14–15, 49.

<sup>89</sup> Wilhelm Schickard, *Horologium Hebraeum* (Londini: Philemonem Stephanum & Christophorum Meredith, 1639).



seventeenth-century Hebraists and their publishers, the receptiveness of local seventeenth-century divines to Hebrew scholarship and learning, and the need for a library of the calibre of Chetham's Library in north-west England.

The acquisition of Hebrew titles was only one side of the Library's interest in the 'wisdom of the east'. Unlike the Bodleian Library or the Cambridge college libraries, Chetham's Library did not collect eastern manuscripts and documents, presumably as part of the trustees' commitment to long-standing printed works to encourage Hebrew learning in north-west England. In this latter respect, the Library excelled itself with the delivery in 1657 of twelve volumes of the recently published *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* at the extremely high cost of £22, which made it the most expensive individual entry in the Library's acquisitions. The *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* was a massive work of Byzantine history, printed in Latin and Greek in the famous 'Grec du Roi' typeface of the Imprimerie Royale in Paris. In the delivery of May 1657, Littlebury supplied the Library with all of the volumes available at that time. Unlike many other unusual books acquired by the Library, the trustees acknowledged it with the word 'Extraordinary' in the Accessions Register. Given the rarity with which the trustees commented on the quality of the titles in the Library, the holdings of the *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* were of real intellectual, material and bibliographical note. Along with many other titles of Hebrew and Oriental scholarship, the Library trustees demonstrated their commitment to the creation of a library for the encouragement of wider learning in Manchester. It is the trustees' commitment to extensive scholarly acquisition to which this chapter turns next, in an examination of the Library's acquisition of works by Jesuit writers after 1655.

### *E Societate Iesu: The Reception of Jesuit Texts*

By 1700, very few institutions had as many works of Jesuit theology and thought as Chetham's Library, although the presence of these titles raises a number of problems, not least in how 'Jesuit' is defined.<sup>90</sup> Most contemporary scholarly libraries in this period had some work by

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<sup>90</sup> 'Jesuit' authors are those identified in the titles of their works as 'E Societate Iesu' or are recorded in Backer and Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque De La Compagnie De Jésus* (Louvain: Editions de la Bibliothèque S.J., 1960).

Jesuit writers, including Jesus College, Oxford, Emmanuel and Trinity Colleges in Cambridge, and the university libraries in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Trinity College Dublin. Among clergy readers, Dr Higgs at Lichfield owned a copy of Martin Becanus' *Manuale Controversium* and two volumes by Vincent Filliucius, copies of which were delivered to Chetham's Library.<sup>91</sup> A collection of works by the '*Doctor eximius et pius*' Francisco Suárez was delivered to Chetham's Library in 1660 at a cost of £9. Emmanuel College, Cambridge had a set of Suárez's works, although the collections at Chetham's Library were much newer and more extensive.

The purpose of the acquisition of Jesuit thought in Manchester was more complex than many other institutions' acquisition of Jesuit texts in this period. While works by Jesuit scholars were widely disseminated in these personal and institutional libraries, their reception and employment at Chetham's Library was quite different. In the seventeenth century, the scholarly engagement and rebuttal of the popish and Jesuitical threat was important to produce effective learned responses to their work, and to act as a unifying force in the English Church. At Emmanuel College Cambridge, the 'nursery' of Puritanism, and at the Oxford colleges, a small number of Jesuit titles were purchased for the purposes of scholarly criticism and confutation.<sup>92</sup> Naturally, some titles at Chetham's Library were acquired for such a purpose, but the Library's acquisitions differed from the norm in the size, content and purpose of the holdings, as further investigation demonstrates.

A recent sale catalogue of Jesuit titles issued by the booksellers Quaritch offers a useful starting point for an analysis of the Jesuit holdings at the Library. In his introduction to the Quaritch catalogue, Alastair Hamilton highlighted the contribution of the Jesuits to scholarship, acknowledging that in 'whatever subject they specialised, the members of the Society made some contribution to western science or scholarship'.<sup>93</sup> From the perspective of the range of the Society's achievements, the Library's acquisition of Jesuit works overlooked the

<sup>91</sup> P. S. Morrish, *Bibliotheca Higgsiana: A Catalogue of the Books of Dr. Griffin Higgs (1589–1659)* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1990), numbers 246, 247 and 39.

<sup>92</sup> J. Deotis Roberts, *From Puritanism to Platonism in Seventeenth Century England* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), p. 44.

<sup>93</sup> Alastair Hamilton, *The Society of Jesus 1548–1773* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 2006), p. iv.

confessional background of the Society of Jesus in order to provide the full range of the key works of Jesuit scholarship. The Library bought works by Jesuit authors dating from 1596 to the end of the seventeenth century, including the purchase in 1683 of a 1671 edition of Georges de Rhodes' *Disputationum Theologiae*.<sup>94</sup> It bought a large number of expensive and multi-volume sets, including Suárez's collected works in thirteen volumes, five volumes by Denis Petau and seven volumes by Alfonso Salmerón. Theologically, because of their obvious quality, Jesuit works were a priority that was met in a systematic fashion. As well as Suárez, around seventy titles by Jesuit authors were acquired before 1661, including the exegete Maldonado (delivered in August 1655), and the moral theologian Gaspar Sanchez (delivered in August 1655). Alongside the large-scale collected works, the acquisitions covered a number of areas of interest to preaching divines, including Canisius on catechisms, Cresollius on preaching, Fernandius on Genesis and Giustiniani on St Paul. Irrespective of confessional position, the fact of having these works was of particular importance to the Library trustees. To emphasise their openness to Continental scholarship, this was the extensive, thoughtful and scholarly purchasing of the key texts of Jesuit scholarship for the encouragement of eirenic and ecumenical learning in Manchester.

A Jesuit work provides an unusual example of readers' engagement with the books at Chetham's Library, and demonstrates the extent to which the Library's holdings exceeded the expectations of many of the college and university libraries in this period. In October 1690, the Library was given a copy of the Jesuit author Robert Parsons' *Christian Directory*, which had recently been reprinted in London.<sup>95</sup> The donor was the influential Catholic William 'Halt-Will' Blundell (1620–1698). Blundell was the head of a recusant family from Crosby in Lancashire, who carved out a role for himself as a defender of Catholics in Lancashire during the 1680s and 1690s. He was imprisoned on a number of occasions, including time served in Manchester Gaol in the politically charged atmosphere of 1688. Parsons was demonised as part of the 'black legend', a long tradition of anti-Jesuit propaganda in which he was the most prominent target. Edward Gee's *Memorial*, published

<sup>94</sup> Georges de Rhodes, *Disputationum Theologiae Scholasticae* (Lyon: Jean Antoine Huguetan, 1671).

<sup>95</sup> Robert Parsons, *A Christian Directory* (London: Printed by Henry Hills *et al*, 1687).

in 1690, used the figure of 'Father Parsons the Jesuit' to warn against future popish succession.<sup>96</sup> Despite this vilification, the *Christian Directory* was a very popular work, and was widely admired. In the copy of the *Directory* at Chetham's Library, the manuscript inscription on the title page referred to the work's age only for words that were no longer in use, and it did not note its apparent controversy or the author's notoriety:

this Treatise was first published one hundred and four years before this present Edition, viz anno 1583. So that we are not to wonder if some few words and phrases therein be now growing out of use.

Blundell's activities as a defender of Catholicism in England and as one who circulated illicit Catholic books in and around north-west England has received much attention in Geoff Baker's new article on Blundell in *Northern History*.<sup>97</sup> Baker contends that Blundell's activities disprove that early modern Catholics lived in exclusive enclaves isolated from modern religion and politics; Anthony Milton points out that early modern England was 'littered with remnants of the old religion'.<sup>98</sup> Chetham's Library was more than simply a repository for books of a useful or scholarly nature. Blundell's donation of Parsons' work was intended to support the interests of Jesuit thought in north-west England in the later 1690s, beliefs that still had currency in the region at this time. The Library's acquisition of large and expensive volumes of Jesuit thought underlines the connections between the Library's eirenic and bibliographic concerns, and contributes to a breaking down of the intellectual distinction between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' texts in early modern England. Blundell's gift extends the Library's remit into a much wider frame than simply a library for the use of the divines of Manchester; it was an institution that *readers* regarded as a means to disseminate ideas and beliefs.

*'being very rare to see soe many of these'*

The delivery of thirty-seven Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic liturgical books provides a unique opportunity to explore the interaction

<sup>96</sup> Edward Gee, *The Jesuit's Memorial* (London: Richard Chiswel, 1690).

<sup>97</sup> Geoff Baker, 'William Blundell and Late Seventeenth Century English Catholicism', *Northern History*, 45 (2008) p. 275.

<sup>98</sup> Anthony Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism', in Arthur F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1999), pp. 99–102.

between the book trade and questions of reception of theological titles. According to Littlebury, it 'being very rare to see soe many of these', the delivery of thirty-seven volumes of Greek Orthodox liturgical works in October 1674 was something of a coup, both for Robert Littlebury and for the Library.<sup>99</sup> Littlebury, whose son Isaac had visited Italy in the 1670s and had imported titles from there, presumably found the liturgies on his travels, and delivered them to the Library at a cost of £9 10s. Chapter Three showed that the letter that accompanied the delivery contained a plea for customers for the unsold copies of Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, and suggested, probably falsely, that the liturgies would otherwise have been sent to Castell, the author of the 1669 *Lexicon Heptaglotton*.

After the Restoration, many Anglicans saw the Orthodox Churches both as the legitimate heir of the early Church and as an ally against the papal pretensions of Rome and the political and commercial ambitions of Catholic France and Spain. By 1677, there were calls at Oxford for a Greek College to educate the future leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church, and to serve both ecumenical and political aims. Gloucester Hall was Benjamin Woodroffe's efforts to create such a college, although it met with only mixed success. Situated on the site of modern-day Worcester College, the 'Greek College' was known derisively as 'Woodroffe's folly'; by 1699, three of the ten students had run away, probably as a result of the poor conditions at the college.<sup>100</sup>

The Greek Orthodox liturgies that were delivered to the Library were certainly very rare. Other than at Chetham's Library, Michael Jeffreys has noted multiple copies of the *Menaion* (the name of the twelve books, one for every month, that contain the offices for immovable feasts in the Byzantine rite) in university libraries in Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College Dublin, and at Canterbury, Durham, and Lincoln Cathedrals.<sup>101</sup> One of the titles in the Library's holdings, the *Euchologion* by Maximos Margounios, printed by Pinelli in Venice in 1602, was extremely rare.<sup>102</sup> The *Euchologion* had been the basis of Patriarch Nikon's reform of the Russian Orthodox liturgy in 1655,

<sup>99</sup> Invoices, 17 October 1674, f. 39r.

<sup>100</sup> Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 300.

<sup>101</sup> Michael Jeffreys, 'British Collections of Seventeenth-Century Greek Liturgical Books', in K. Staikos and T. E. Sklavenitis (eds.), *The Printed Greek Book from the 15th-19th Century* (Athens: Kotinos, 2004), pp. 615-23.

<sup>102</sup> Orthodox Eastern Church, *Euchologion* (Venice: Antonio Pinelli, 1602).

which had caused the major schism of the Russian Church that persists to this day.<sup>103</sup> Jeffreys has recorded that in the United Kingdom, there are only three other copies of the title, two in Oxford, and the other in Cambridge. While in exile in London, Richard Johnson had become friends with John Selden, who had owned an impressive range of Greek liturgical works in his rooms at the Middle Temple, including a copy of the 1602 *Euchologion*; this copy is now shelved in the Selden end of the Duke Humphrey Library at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Although it is very difficult to prove with any certainty, the trustees' decision to accept the range (and extent) of Greek Orthodox liturgies sent by Littlebury in October 1674 probably owed something to Johnson's knowledge of Selden's collection of such titles some years before. While the presence of some Greek Orthodox books in British libraries reflected a desire to restore a commonly acceptable link with medieval Christendom, the need for such books at Chetham's Library remains problematic.

The liturgies that came to Chetham's Library were delivered in 1674, some fifteen years before Greek Orthodox material became a source of evidence for the non-jurors after 1688.<sup>104</sup> While it is possible to acknowledge a real interest in Greek Orthodox material by the Library trustees, in a small town such as Manchester, there were few readers with the interest or ability to study the texts in detail even in the mid-1670s. The purchase of some Greek Orthodox material was an integral part of the libraries from which the trustees drew their ideas, but the sheer volume (and nature) of the Library's holdings suggest that Littlebury sent this collection of titles because he was trying to rid himself of expensive works that had a very limited market. Similarly problematic in matters of selection and textual reception were the variety of Roman Catholic liturgies and missals that the Library acquired throughout the seventeenth century, including the 1663 *Antiphonarium Romanum* and the 1680 *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, which were delivered in 1672 and 1687 respectively.<sup>105</sup> The trustees were prepared to pay out large sums of money for very good editions; the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* of 1633 cost £1 5s., while the Plantin

<sup>103</sup> Matthew Spinka, 'Patriarch Nikon and the Subjection of the Russian Church to the State', *Church History*, 10 (1941), p. 355.

<sup>104</sup> *Emmanuel College*, p. 93.

<sup>105</sup> *Antiphonarium Romanum* (Paris: Jean de la Caille, 1663); *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum* (Paris: Edmund Martin & Gabrielem Martinum, 1680).

editions of the *Missale Romanum* and *Pontificale Romanum* cost £1 5s. and £1 respectively.<sup>106</sup> Both the *Pontificale Romanum* and *Antiphonarium Romanum* were large folio works containing printed music and plain-song notation, and had been destined for daily liturgical use in Catholic Europe.<sup>107</sup> The purpose to which such acquisitions were put is unclear, and the reason for the Library's acquisition of it equally so. They were too large and unwieldy for scholarly reference purposes, and there was certainly no liturgical or musical use at Chetham's Library or at the Collegiate Church in the 1660s to which such works could be put.

There were serious questions of reception and readership, but the trustees did not send back these expensive titles, as had happened in the past with titles offered by Smith and Littlebury. Their provision in Manchester served much later and grander scholarly ambitions than simply the needs of preaching clergy and students. Undeniably, the works fitted with the trustees' interest in buying the best and latest editions available and in their concern to provide a wide range of scholarship at the Library. The examination of their reception in Manchester suggests that their delivery was driven in part by the bookseller's need to pass on stock he was unable to sell, as was discussed at length in Chapter Three, and by the trustees' willingness to *accept* the Greek Orthodox liturgical works for longer-term reference at the Library and for the provision of a universality of knowledge. These two sets of liturgies bring out a wide range of scholarly issues: the workings of the seventeenth-century 'Latin trade', the matter of booksellers passing on unmarketable stock, comparisons between different libraries in different times and places, and the ongoing questions asked by this book about how (and why) books were selected and accepted by early modern readers at Chetham's Library.

### *The Trouble with Gifts*

The donation of books and other items to Chetham's Library throughout the seventeenth century presents a number of problems. The gifts the Library received tended to be on issues or topics outside the intellectual, theological or political topics usually acquired by the Library.

<sup>106</sup> *Missale Romanum* (Antuerpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1630); *Pontificale Romanum* (Antverpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1627).

<sup>107</sup> In April 2009, the composer James MacMillan sang from the *Antiphonarium Romanum* during his tour of Chetham's Library.



Unlike many other institutions with known readerships or extensive records of readers, there is little evidence of how the books in the Library were used. In the absence of this body of evidence of readership, the gifts provide some of the best evidence about how, why and by whom the Library was used throughout the seventeenth century. Many gifts fell outside even the Library's usually ecumenical bounds: it received several volumes of Calvin's work in French from a former parliamentary officer, and a Jesuit work from one of the north-west's most prominent Catholics. There is a real paradox to the evidence of the use of the Library provided by gifts. The gifts provide some of the best evidence about the Library's users in the seventeenth century, even though their views and opinions differed from the overall tone of the Library's holdings.

One particular gift by a grateful reader sums up the tone of the theological acquisitions in the seventeenth century, but it highlights the dangers of making too much about readership at the Library from the evidence of gifts. Many of the intended readers approved of the tangibly Anglican and episcopal way in which the Library developed, as the support of William Assheton demonstrated. Assheton was born in Middleton in Lancashire in 1642, and graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford in 1665. Although Anthony à Wood claimed that Assheton's tutor was Presbyterian, Assheton devoted his life to the defence of Anglicanism.<sup>108</sup> His earliest works, including *Evangelium Armatum*, were works of controversy that attacked nonconformists for threatening state and church government.<sup>109</sup> By 1671 Assheton lived in Oxford, where he was a frequent preacher, 'highly true to all our Obligations and Relations to our Ancient, Episcopal Church, which was Always at his Heart.'<sup>110</sup>

Assheton was an obvious supporter in principle of a venture like Chetham's Library, in its theological acquisitions and in its geographical location. His personal library of divinity showed that Assheton was interested in book collecting, and his beliefs chimed with Nicholas Stratford's faith, most particularly in Assheton's involvement with the publication of the collected works of John Tillotson, which were delivered to the Library at Stratford's behest throughout the 1670s.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. 2., p. 1025.

<sup>109</sup> William Assheton, *Evangelium Armatum* (London: William Garret, 1663).

<sup>110</sup> Thomas Watts, *The Christian Indeed* (London: Charles Rivington, 1714), xx.

<sup>111</sup> These acquisitions were then replaced by John Tillotson, *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson* (London: B. Aylmer and W. Rogers, 1696).



Assheton felt that it was important to contribute to the work being undertaken at the Library, so in May 1671 he donated a copy of *Toleration Disapprov'd*, 'a little Book against Vexation bound in Vellum in 4<sup>to</sup> & guilt'.<sup>112</sup> The donation of *Toleration Disapprov'd*, which condemned any relaxation of penal laws for dissenters, complemented many similar acquisitions made at the time, although no other works written by Assheton were acquired during the seventeenth century.

The problem with Assheton's donation is that it was, paradoxically, one of the very few gifts to the Library that fitted in with its overall tone and interests. For the most part, gifts reflected the views of donors rather than the views of the trustees, Librarians or readers. Two works by the controversial Quaker writer Robert Barclay, donated in 1697, do not fit with the rest of the Library's later theological holdings, not least because no works relating to the Religious Society of Friends had been delivered up to that point. Quaker theology, and particularly that of Scottish Quakerism and early colonial settlers, was very far removed from the rest of the holdings, and from the Library's original purpose.<sup>113</sup> The works, one in Latin and one in English, were given by the prominent Bristol Quakers, John Jones (*d.* 1702), and Charles Harford Jr (1662–1725).<sup>114</sup> In business, Harford was active in soap boiling, and had planned to set up a brassworks in Bristol in 1700.<sup>115</sup> During what the *ODNB* calls an 'eventful' life, he was among many Bristol Quakers imprisoned for not attending national worship as well as being fined for customs fraud in 1691.<sup>116</sup> Jones, about whom much less is known, was a linen-draper who had been fined for tobacco fraud in 1691. The books, which made the first (and last) attempt at systematic Quaker theologies, were rare in scholarly libraries.<sup>117</sup> None of the Oxford or Cambridge college libraries for which catalogues exist at this time acquired these titles, and the town libraries of Norwich, Wisbech or Ipswich did not hold copies. It is unclear why Quakers from Bristol made a donation to a library in Manchester, although Jones' work in

<sup>112</sup> Accessions, f. 31v.

<sup>113</sup> Pink Dandelion, *The Quakers: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Robert Barclay, *Truth Triumphant* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1692); Robert Barclay, *Apologia* (Amsterdam and London: Jacob Claus *et al.*, 1676).

<sup>115</sup> Patrick McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise in seventeenth-century Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1955), p. xxx.

<sup>116</sup> Peter Wakelin, 'Harford family (per. c.1700–1866)', *ODNB*.

<sup>117</sup> Pink Dandelion, *The Quakers*, p. 23.

the cloth trade could have led him to visit Manchester in the later part of the century. The donation of the two works of Quaker theology demonstrated that in how the titles were to be used; the book in English was intended for immediate reading by all, while the Latin book provided a scholarly basis for more detailed study of seventeenth-century Quaker thought.

A similar example with respect to reader donations and readership was the gift by Nathan Cronkshaw in 1690 of *Bishop Overall's Convocation-Book*. Cronkshaw's gift was a work edited by William Sancroft, by then Archbishop of Canterbury, used to justify the non-jurors' refusal to swear Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to William and Mary.<sup>118</sup> Cronkshaw had graduated BA from Brasenose College, Oxford in June 1686, and took his MA in 1691; he served as Vicar of Witham-on-the-Hill from 1708 to 1727. Cronkshaw's age in 1690 makes it probable that as with other seventeenth-century readers, he gave the book as a token of thanks to the Library for providing a place to continue his studies in an environment similar to Oxford and Cambridge college libraries. The book's donation in 1690 makes it an unusual acquisition for a Library that did not have to depend upon alumni gifts, as well as being a rare example of a text that reflected events happening elsewhere in England at the time. Although it is speculation, Cronkshaw, a presumed supporter of the non-jurors' cause, may have in fact found the large collection of Greek Orthodox liturgies discussed previously of some value: by comparison, William Sancroft himself donated a large set of Greek Orthodox liturgies to Emmanuel College Library in Cambridge in the late 1680s for use in the defence of the non-jurors. Yet this was the only work acquired by Chetham's Library that can be described as supportive of the non-jurors' cause. Like the donation by Harford and Jones, it reflects more the beliefs of the donors than the Library's acquisitions policy.

The best way to understand these gifts and their relation to readers at the Library is to understand what the donors believed they were doing by making such a donation. In part, the donation of a book was a statement of a particular political or religious view on their part. The donation of books to Chetham's Library was because there was nowhere else in the north-west for books and other items to go; giving

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<sup>118</sup> John Overall, *Bishop Overall's Convocation-Book* (London: Walter Kettilby, 1690).

a book to the library of an *alma mater* in Oxford, Cambridge or Edinburgh involved a great deal of organisation. The donation of a book or other item to an institution such as Chetham's Library was a donation to the Library in perpetuity and an expression of an interest in the encouragement of scholarly learning in Manchester outside the bounds of the university curricula. In their twofold donation, Harford and Jones shared the aspirations of Humphrey Chetham and his trustees, although their donations fell outside the views of the Library trustees. The seventeenth-century gifts to Chetham's Library present rich evidence and thorny problems for the study of textual reception in this period. While they demonstrate the readers at the Library and the donors' commitment to it as a scholarly institution, they show how the acquisitions were a piecemeal mixture of selections, purchases, incomplete stock and gifts from readers whose interests stood outside the interests of the trustees.

### *Usefulness in Defence of the Church of England*

The reception of theology at Chetham's Library between 1655 and 1700 remains difficult to summarise, but a number of issues can be identified. The immediate usefulness of biblical concordances and harmonies determined the rate of acquisitions during the Library's earliest period. The acquisition of such titles served to create a readership for the Library's books as divines came to consult the available titles. Moreover, the Library trustees' commitment to the long-term value of the Library, and its encouragement of advanced scholarly learning in Manchester provided justification and support for titles without an immediately apparent readership. The Library's theological acquisitions testified to the power of the book trade to form and disseminate new forms of intellectual endeavour in this period, particularly through subscription publication and new formats. They provide evidence of the changes that took place in the book trade and intellectual life in the later seventeenth century. As the reception of patristics, Calvinism, Arminianism and episcopacy showed, the defence of the Church of England meant that titles apparently opposed to each other were acquired at different times for the same purpose. The acquisitions changed, as second-hand titles from the towns and cities of Continental Europe were superseded by new publications (produced in new and unorthodox ways) from London and the university towns of Oxford

and Cambridge. The direct evidence of readers and readership for the theological texts at Chetham's Library is, of course, problematic. The best evidence of readership at the Library in the seventeenth century comes from donors whose views were often very different from views held by the Library trustees, although as this chapter has demonstrated, the donors shared the same ambitions for the Library as the trustees. The usefulness of texts determined how theological titles were acquired by Chetham's Library during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The next chapter, on the acquisition and reception of titles relating to history, classics and law, revises and refines how our knowledge of this use of texts applied to these books and to their reception in early modern England.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ACQUISITION OF CLASSICS, HISTORY AND LAW

#### *Healing and Settling the Past: Different Patterns of Acquisition*

Every scholarly library in the early modern period was expected to hold large numbers of works of classical, legal and historical scholarship, not least because they corresponded to what Mordechai Feingold describes as the Aristotelian ‘interconnectedness of all knowledge and the necessity of acquiring it in its entirety’ encouraged by the universities during the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> The acquisition of a typically orthodox collection of classical, legal and historical titles was essential, and the trustees acquired and accepted such titles precisely because they were in heavy use from the very beginning of the Library. However, this chapter is not concerned primarily with sketching out the form and extent of the Library’s acquisitions in these three areas. This is not least because it is tedious in its description of the quality and range of acquisitions. Instead, it examines the Library’s acquisition of texts in these three areas with respect to three key factors identified in other parts of this book. The first issue is the rate and speed of acquisition of particular sets of books and titles across the century. The second issue is the material form and bibliographical quality of the books acquired by the Library, and how far they can be described as the ‘best editions available’. The third and final issue is the extent to which the reception of classical, legal and historical scholarship in this period in Manchester was qualified by the supply of books to institutions by booksellers keen to rid themselves of unprofitable and unmarketable titles.

In purely numerical terms, the number of titles of classics, history and law acquired during the seventeenth century is relatively small. Classical titles form around eight percent of the total; historical works around nineteen percent, and legal works around five percent of the Library’s holdings. In the ownership of historical titles the holdings at Chetham’s Library were far greater than many personal

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<sup>1</sup> Mordechai Feingold, ‘The Humanities’, *HUO IV*, p. 257.

and institutional collectors; Daniel Woolf has shown that by the mid-1600s, most middling to large collections of books contained somewhere between eight and ten per cent historical works, excluding fictional works and romances entitled 'histories'.<sup>2</sup> However, the number of titles, or amount of shelf space occupied by a particular set of works in the Library is secondary to the relative cost of the books on the shelves, and it is at this point that the works of classics, history and law on the Library shelves become more important. Although it is difficult to measure with any degree of certainty, the thousand works considered here were relatively more expensive than the theological or scientific titles examined in other chapters: they cost more than the equivalent numbers of works of theology acquired by the Library at the same time. For example, the law books delivered by John Starkey in July 1665 and Christopher Wilkinson in July 1689 cost £20 and £17 2s. 6d. respectively. Historical texts were similarly costly, and included the most expensive set of books acquired by the Library in this period, the *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae*, produced in Paris between 1647 and 1655. Described in the Accessions Register as 'Extraordinary', these books, delivered at a cost of £22, were the most expensive volumes acquired by the Library in the seventeenth century, and cost over twice the Librarian's annual salary. Classical titles were expensive, as evidenced by the £33 8s. paid by the Library in 1697 to Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford for a set of small format (octavo and smaller) classical works.

The high cost of these titles aside, it is the patterns of acquisition of these three sets of works that provide the basic evidence and structure for this chapter. The Library's century-long acquisition of classical titles supports the conclusion that classical study was at the very heart of early modern scholarship, although the Library's later acquisitions point to the dangers of inferring too much about textual reception from an individual or institutional collection. In the Library's acquisition of historical titles, the trustees' interest in the provision of a 'universality' of new and old historical works was tempered by a desire to gloss over the wounds of the recent Civil Wars and regicide in the interests of political and religious 'healing and settling'. There was therefore a limit to the trustees' and Chetham's faith in the power of the public institution to preserve the past.

Finally, while books in the other two areas of scholarship were acquired over the course of the seventeenth century, the Library's

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<sup>2</sup> Daniel R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, p. 135.

acquisition of legal titles was very different, in that legal books were delivered in two large batches in 1665 and 1689. Partly, as this chapter considers, this pattern of acquisition reflected the availability and cost of specialist legal books in this period, but it provides evidence of booksellers passing on unprofitable and unmarketable stock. Working from the conditions of their reception, this chapter uses the connections between intellectual and material cultures and readership to better understand the reception of works of classics, history and law in Chetham's Library in the early modern period.

*The Ars Excerpendi: Classical Texts and Classical Literature*

Any cursory examination of the libraries of the grammar schools and public schools of the early modern period testifies to the centrality of classical literature in the schools and universities at the time. Renaissance educational theory placed great emphasis on the art of reading, and in particular, reading that involved the exegetical reworking of classical texts.<sup>3</sup> For the trustees of Chetham's Library, classical texts were an essential element of the acquisitions throughout the seventeenth century. Before 1661, seventy classical titles were acquired, forming around five percent of the total acquisitions. After 1661, 165 titles were acquired, comprising around ten percent of the total acquisitions in this period. Classical titles remained a priority for the trustees across the whole century, and they were an expensive commitment from the foundation until 1700. The trustees spent £25 13s. 6d. on classical books in the two deliveries of 1655, and paid £33 14s. for the set of classical titles delivered by Samuel Smith in August 1697. Of the classical titles, the majority (eighty percent) were in Latin, with the remainder in Ancient Greek, and individual titles in Hebrew and 'Multiple' Languages. There were, as was discussed at length in Chapter Two, thirty-three books with title pages in two languages, which ranged from a *Thesaurus* produced at the Aldine house in Venice in 1496 to the collected works of Pindar produced at the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford in 1697.<sup>4</sup> Ninety-five percent of the titles acquired before 1661 were acquired second-hand, and much like other subject areas, the proportion of newly published titles grew as the century went on.

<sup>3</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Thesaurus Keras Amaltheias* (Venetiis: In domo Aldi Romani, 1496); Pindar, *Pindarou Olympia* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1697).

Although there are problems with the identification of 'new' titles, a number of classical titles reached Chetham's Library within the year of publication, including Claudius Rutilius Namatianus's *Galli Itinerarium*, published in Amsterdam in 1687, and acquired by the Library in the same year.<sup>5</sup>

The basic statistical information provided here about the Library's classical titles and their rate of acquisition does not answer questions about the intellectual and material quality of the holdings. For the trustees of Chetham's Library, the importance of classical learning was matched by the importance attached to the quality of the editions of the texts purchased. Much akin to the way in which the authority of the Church Fathers relied upon the textual integrity and scholarly fidelity of the edition, the Library's acquisition of classical titles was structured around buying the best editions available.<sup>6</sup> Robert Littlebury, 'who is our standard for knowing Authors'<sup>7</sup>, had been employed to supply Chetham's Library precisely because he was able to provide these books from the British and Continental new and second-hand trade in books.

Littlebury did not disappoint in his supply of classical works in the best editions. As befitted the trustees' commitment to the provision of large-format works, the vast majority of works acquired in classics were in folio format. The Library's initial dependence upon Continental scholarship and Littlebury's skill in procuring such material are evidenced by the acquisition of titles from all of the major Continental presses in the seventeenth century, including works from the Estienne house in Paris, Froben in Basel, Plantin in Antwerp, Chouët in Geneva, and Wetstein and Elsevier in Amsterdam. Between 1655 and 1661, Continental publications formed more than ninety percent of all classical acquisitions. By 1700, a growing number of works published in Britain had been acquired, including dictionaries and catalogues of books and manuscripts produced at the University Press in Oxford.<sup>8</sup>

The scholarly coverage of classical texts was exhaustive. Richard Holdsworth, the Master of Emmanuel College Cambridge and an avid book collector, had been one of Littlebury's customers in the 1640s. During his time as university Vice-Chancellor, Holdsworth had

<sup>5</sup> *Galli Itinerarium* (Amstelaedami: Apud Joannem Wolters, 1687).

<sup>6</sup> Justin Champion, 'To Know the Edition' p. 123.

<sup>7</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 29 September 1692.

<sup>8</sup> *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum* (Oxoniae: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1697).



recommended in *Directions for Students at the Universitie* that students supplement the reading of medieval authors by reading, *inter alia*, Cicero, Juvenal, Plautus, Suetonius, Quintus Curtius, Livy and Florus, and among the moderns Erasmus and Lorenzo Valla.<sup>9</sup> Such was the wisdom of Holdsworth's *Directions* that all of these writers' collected works had been acquired in second-hand continental editions by Chetham's Library by 1661.<sup>10</sup> The trustees' commitment to classical scholarship in the best editions can be gauged by an outline of the dates on which books by all of the classical authors were acquired, the publishers of the works, and the high prices paid for the titles. That the Library acquired a title between 1655 and 1661 is as a measure of its scholarly importance to the trustees, much like the acquisition of biblical harmonies and concordances, the Library in fact acquired many of the classical authors by 1657 rather than by 1661. By far the most expensive classical work purchased by the trustees was a 1578 Estienne edition of the collected works of Plato in Greek, which was delivered in September 1655 at a cost of £3 10s.<sup>11</sup> This was the best edition available at the time, and while the trustees supplemented some classical authors with later editions, this remained the authoritative scholarly text and was not replaced by a later edition. Moreover, it was a gift from Henry de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford, to the playwright Ben Jonson for, as the dedication noted 'Ad promouenda studia sua.' Despite Jonson's high reputation before and after the Restoration, in which he probably surpassed Shakespeare, the Library trustees did not acknowledge this eminent provenance.<sup>12</sup>

Works by many other classical writers were delivered very shortly after the foundation of the Library in fine editions and at great cost. The collected works of Aristotle, published in Basel by Froben in 1619, were delivered in August 1655 at a cost of £1 18s.; two works of Homer, published in Basel and Amsterdam, were delivered by April 1658, one

<sup>9</sup> Richard Holdsworth, 'Directions for Students at the Universitie' Emmanuel College Cambridge MS 48, reprinted in Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 623–644.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 146–47.

<sup>11</sup> Plato, *Platonos Hapanta Ta Sozomena* (Geneva: Excudebat Henr. Stephanus, 1578).

<sup>12</sup> Robert C. Evans, 'Jonson's Critical Heritage', in Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000), p. 188.

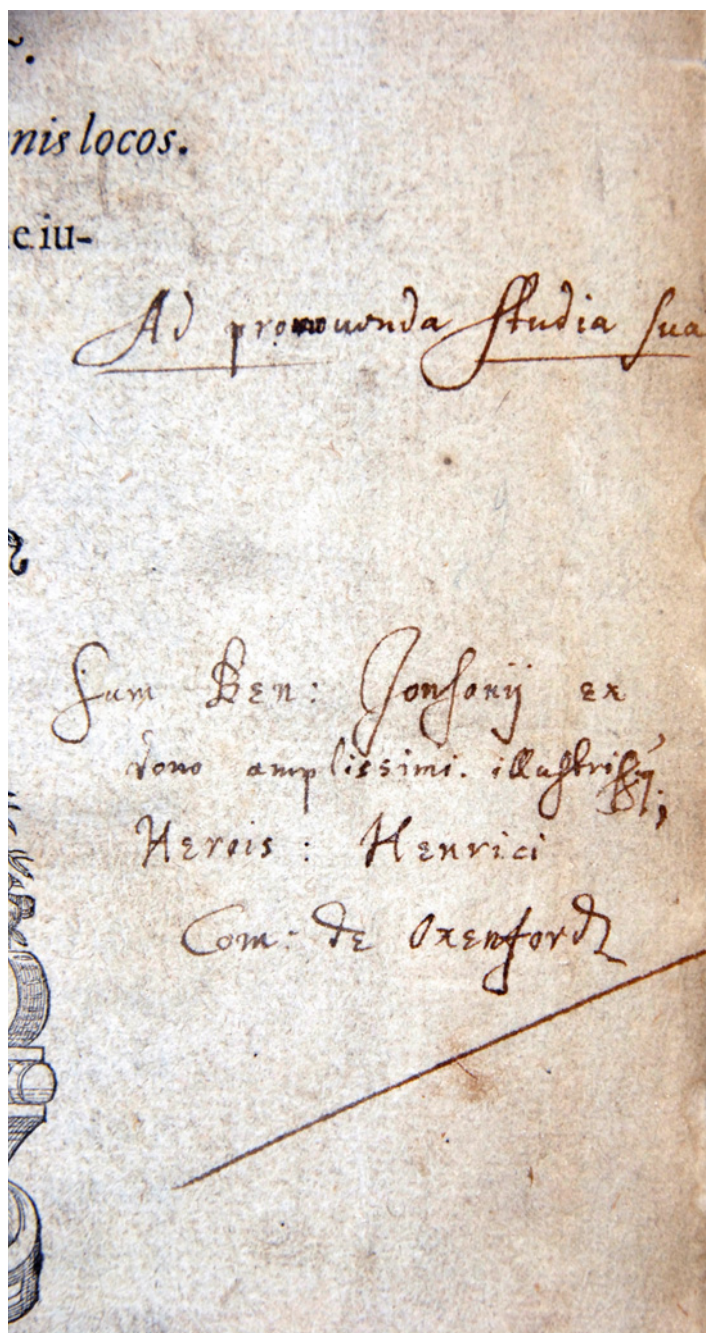


Figure 17. Ben Jonson's signature, title page, *Platonos hapanta ta sozomena*.

at a cost of ten shillings and the other at fifteen shillings.<sup>13</sup> The Library's acquisitions compare favourably with Margo Todd's list of the authors read most frequently and consistently by Cambridge students during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This comparison reinforces the trustees' commitment to the best editions, even if the books were expensive.<sup>14</sup> A book of Seneca, published in Paris by Chevalier, was delivered in August 1655 at a cost of fourteen shillings; Cicero, published in Paris by Charles Estienne, was delivered in May 1656 for £1 10s.<sup>15</sup> Two titles by Virgil, published in Cologne and Basel respectively, were delivered to the Library by July 1657 at a cost of over £3 1s.<sup>16</sup> An edition of Lucian, published in Paris by Pierre Feburier, was delivered in August 1655 for £1. An Estienne edition of Sophocles, published in Geneva in 1568, came to the Library in August 1655 at a price of nine shillings; Martial, published in Cologne by Johann Kinckius, was delivered in 1660 for ten shillings; Tacitus, printed at the Plantin house in Antwerp, was delivered in 1655 for twelve shillings.<sup>17</sup> Finally, such was the importance of Plutarch for Renaissance and early modern education in virtue that the trustees were prepared to spend £2 10s. in August 1655 on a Latin edition of his collected works published in Paris by the Imprimerie Royale, and to spend a further £2 5s. three years later on English language editions of his *Morals* and the *Lives of the Noble Grecians & Romans*.<sup>18</sup> These key texts were supplemented by a set of dictionaries and scholarly apparatus that enabled the Library's readers to improve their understanding of classical (and Semitic) languages and literatures. These works included Aubry's *Epigrammatum Graecorum*, Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum Et Rabbinicum*,

<sup>13</sup> Aristotle, *Opera Omnia* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Typis Regiis, 1619); Homer, *Homerou Ilias Kai Odysseia* (Amstelodami: Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1656); Homer, *Homeri Quae Exstant Omnia* (Basileae: Eusebij Episcopij, 1583).

<sup>14</sup> Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> Seneca, *Philosophi* (Parisiis: Excudebat P. Cheualier, 1607); Cicero, *Opera* (Parisiis: Apud Carolum Stephanum, 1555).

<sup>16</sup> Virgil, *Opera Omnia* (Basileae: Per Sebastianum Henricpetri, 1613); Virgil, *Bucolica Et Georgica* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud Ioannem Kinchium, 1647); Virgil, *Bucolica Et Georgica* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Bernardi Gualteri, 1628).

<sup>17</sup> Lucian, *Philosophou Ta Sozomena* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: P. Ludouicum Feburier, 1615); Martial, *Epigrammaton Libros Omnes* (Moguntiae: Sumptibus Ioannis Kinckii, 1627); Tacitus, *Opera Quae Exstant* (Antuerpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1627).

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch, *Omnium Quae Exstant Operum* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Typis Regiis, 1624); Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians & Romans* (London: William Lee, 1657); Plutarch, *Morals* (London: George Sawbridge, 1657).

Robert Constantin's *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, Antonius Giggeius' *Thesaurus Linguae Arabicae*, Wolfgang Seber's *Index Vocabulorum* for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Friedrich Sylburg's *Etymologicon Magnum*.<sup>19</sup>

Classical literature was vitally important to the Library throughout the seventeenth century, and the presence of so much of it provides a counterpoint to the almost complete absence of English literature from the Library's holdings. Aside from the delivery of Milton's *History of Britain* in 1671, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in 1665, and the Gower manuscript in June 1666, literature, poetry and drama in the English language was completely absent from the acquisitions.<sup>20</sup> Given the popularity and reputation of Milton, Jonson and Shakespeare, it is all the more surprising that their works did not feature. However, many university and college libraries had little or no English literature on their shelves, and the absence of English literature corresponds to the sense of the Library as a scholarly reference library.<sup>21</sup> The reading and rewriting of classical literature in the Renaissance and the early modern period was intended to provide examples for courses of action; this reading was, as Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton describe it, 'goal-oriented'.<sup>22</sup> English literature, in the form of poetry and drama was not read in this way, but was read as continuous text without the same intended purposeful reading. The presence of English literature in a reference library, even one with the ambition of providing a universality of scholarship was of secondary importance to classical literature and to works for scholarly reference.

The acquisition of classical literature at Chetham's Library, even before 1661, was extensive and well resourced, and relied on Littlebury's skill as an importer and valuer of books. While the acquisitions here demonstrate the trustees' ongoing commitment to classical scholarship during the seventeenth century, the enthusiastic reception provided for such titles in the late 1650s needs to be qualified in the

<sup>19</sup> Jean Aubry, *Epigrammatum Graecorum Annotationibus* (Francofurti: Apud Andreae Wecheli, 1600); Johann Buxtorf, *Lexicon* (Basileae: Ludovici König, 1640); Robert Constantin, *Lexicon* (Genevae: Eustathii Vignon, 1592); Antonius Giggeius, *Thesaurus Linguae Arabicae* (Mediolani: Ex Ambrosiani Collegij Typographia, 1632); Wolfgang Seber, *Index Vocabulorum in Homeri* (Heidelberg: In bibliopolio Commeliniano, 1604); Friedrich Sylburg, *Etymologikon* (Heidelberg: Hieronymi Commelini, 1594).

<sup>20</sup> John Milton, *The History of Britain* (London: Spencer Hickman, 1671); Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen* (London: Mathew Lownes, 1611).

<sup>21</sup> Trinity College; Emmanuel College; Jesus College.

<sup>22</sup> Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, 'Studied for Action', p. 30.

light of a large and generally undifferentiated set of small-format classical works delivered by Samuel Smith (Robert Littlebury's grand-apprentice) in August 1697. They have already been discussed in Chapter One, as part of Samuel Smith and Walford's 1695 catalogue *Catalogus Librorum Domi Forisque Impressorum*, from which the trustees selected a number of titles. Sale by catalogue was one of a variety of booksellers' new strategies to sell books.<sup>23</sup> Many of the books in the last few pages of Smith's catalogue were classical titles delivered to the Library in August 1697, some two years after the catalogue was issued. The majority of the titles came from publishers in the Netherlands with whom Smith and Walford had close professional and business connections, including the Waesberge, Hackius, Elsevier and Blaeu houses, whose publications made up half of the whole shipment. These titles had been published in the late 1680s and early 1690s, and as can be discerned from Smith and Walford's catalogue of imported books, they had not been able to sell them in either their shops or in conjunction with the production and distribution of the 1695 catalogue.

While some of the titles filled gaps in the acquisitions that had not been met already, including the provision of copies of works by Ovid and Quintilian, many of the books delivered in August 1697 duplicated works or collections of works by authors already in the collection. There is a strong sense that the two men passed on stock they were unable to sell as individual titles on the open market. Smith and Walford had tried to sell the imported books in their shops, and more widely in the catalogues produced around the same time. None of the titles were priorities for the bookseller or the Library, as neither party displayed much interest in their titles or content. While some of the entries in the Accessions Register for this delivery are reasonably detailed, the majority of the entries consist simply of the writer's name or a one-word title entry. Given the dates of publication, Smith and Walford had been waiting a long time (perhaps up to ten years) to sell some of these titles, and their despatch to the Library in 1697 returns historians of textual reception once more to the dangers inherent in writing the history of libraries in drawing inferences from lists of acquisitions and collections.<sup>24</sup> While there was no immediate need for most of the books in the delivery, the trustees accepted these obviously

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<sup>23</sup> Archer Taylor, *Book Catalogues*, p. 71.

<sup>24</sup> David D. Hall, 'What Was the History of the Book? A Response', p. 539.



unprofitable books for the sake of their long-term commitment to the encouragement of learning and to the Library's future readers.

These titles and their delivery to the Library say much more about the need for booksellers to pass on books, and the ambitions of the trustees, than the reception of classical literature in Manchester in the early modern period. Even the most enthusiastically acquired books at Chetham's Library need to be qualified in the light of the vagaries of the early modern book trade. The next section, on the reception of historical texts, points to a more complicated (and at times painful) engagement with the distant and recent historical past in the Library's collections.

*'infinit benefit': History at Chetham's Library*

In manuscript notes that were purchased by Chetham's Library in the nineteenth century, John Conant, the Rector of Exeter College Oxford between 1649 and 1662, advised young divines to '[pick] the best editions [of books], for you'll find infinit benefit by that both by the goodness of their print and the incorruptness of the text'.<sup>25</sup> Conant's advice, particularly related to books of history and historical study, linked learning and scholarship to the bibliographical quality of the books available to the student. For the trustees of Chetham's Library, the provision of a universality of historical knowledge in the best editions available and their responsiveness to new scholarship was constrained by their wish to gloss over the controversies and conflicts of the recent past in the interests of 'healing and settling'. This section addresses the intellectual and bibliographic quality of the Library's historical acquisitions during the seventeenth century and the comparatively delayed rate of acquisition for topics of recent historical interest.

Around five hundred titles of historical study were delivered between 1655 and 1700, of which just over thirty per cent were delivered before 1661. Of the titles delivered before 1661, just over two-thirds had been published on the Continent. Unlike other areas of scholarly endeavour discussed in this book, the proportion of historical titles printed on the Continent remained constant throughout the period. Chronicles and chronology, of which new and older universal histories were a part,

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<sup>25</sup> John Conant, A Catalogue of Books for a Young Divine, Chetham's Library MS Mun. A.2.21, ff. 3r, 6r–6v.

dealt with the history of the world from creation. The Library acquired these works throughout the seventeenth century, often in fine new and second-hand editions. Seven universal histories, including a copy of Ranulf Higden's 1527 *Polychronycon* (published by John Trevisa) and Walter Raleigh's *Historie of the World in Five Bookes*, were delivered to the Library before 1661.<sup>26</sup> After the end of the cash spend, the Library continued to buy much older universal histories, most notably the 1493 *Nuremberg Chronicle* published by Hartman Schedel as well as Marcus Welser's *Opera Historica Et Philologica*, acquired within a year of its publication.<sup>27</sup> The Library purchased Sir Richard Baker's 1653 *Chronicle of the Kings of England* in 1655; this very popular work went through twelve editions and an abridgment before 1700, although the Library retained its original acquisition.<sup>28</sup> Chronologies remained important for the trustees throughout the seventeenth century; twelve such titles, including Denis Petau's *De Doctrina Temporum*, were delivered by 1661, with a further ten titles after 1661, including an Oxford edition of John Malalas's *Historia Chronica*, which was delivered shortly after its publication in 1691.<sup>29</sup>

The prices paid by Chetham's Library for history books were similar to prices paid by other institutions; the Library's copy of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronycon*, purchased in 1661 for £1, cost much the same price Richard Laphorne had expected to pay for a copy to send to Richard Coffin in Exeter.<sup>30</sup> Laphorne had consulted Littlebury on a number of occasions for copies of the *Polychronycon*, but eventually found himself a copy for eight shillings, 'and I suppose may have twenty shillings of a bookseller for my bargain'.<sup>31</sup> This 'bargaine' raises the question of how much money Littlebury made from the supply of the *Polychronycon* to Chetham's Library, and Chapter Three discusses this in greater detail. On the other hand, the records provided by James Allgood note that a copy of Dugdale's *Monasticon* sold at auction in the 1670s for £5,

<sup>26</sup> Ranulf Higden, *Polychronycon* (Southwerke: Peter Treueris etc, 1527); Walter Raleigh, *The Historie of the World in Five Bookes* (London: Sam Cartwright, 1652).

<sup>27</sup> Hartmann Schedel, *Libri Cronicarum* (Nuremberg: Dominus Anthonius Koberger Nuremberge impressit, 1493); Marcus Welser, *Opera Historica Et Philologica* (Norimbergae: Wolfgangi Mauriti & filiorum Johannis Andreae Endterorum, 1682).

<sup>28</sup> Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London: G. Bedell and T. Williams, 1653).

<sup>29</sup> Denis Petau, *De Doctrina Temporum* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1627); John Malalas, *Chronike Historia* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1691).

<sup>30</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 19 August 1688, 28 July 1688.

<sup>31</sup> *Portledge Papers*, 25 August 1688.

considerably more than the £1 19s. the Library paid in May 1656 for its copy, which suggests that when it came to book prices, what the Library gained on one hand it lost on the other.<sup>32</sup>

Inevitably, given the importance attached to classical learning discussed in the previous section, Roman and Greek classical history remained a priority throughout the seventeenth century. In Roman history, second-hand copies of Livy, Tacitus, Polybius, Suetonius and Cicero were all delivered before 1661; in Greek history, Herodotus, Xenophon, Diodorus and Thucydides were acquired very quickly after the foundation of the Library. After 1661, the trustees retained their commitment to the acquisition of classical history, although the emphasis changed towards newly published titles. Later acquisitions in this area included an English language translation of Livy published in London in 1686, and a Greek language edition of Thucydides, published by the University Press at Oxford, acquired in 1700.<sup>33</sup>

History in the early modern period was wider than just the study of the past, as it encompassed studies of geography, cosmography, astronomy and travel. The earliest acquisitions included old and new astronomical works including Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia*, Seth Calvisius's recently published *Opus Chronologicum Ubi Tempus Astronomicum*, geographical works by older writers such as Higden's *Polychronycon* and newly published works such as Samuel Bochart's 1652 *Geographiae Sacrae*, and works of travel, including Samuel Purchas' 1626 *Pilgrimage* and George Sandys' 1632 *Relation of a Iourney begun Anno domini 1610*.<sup>34</sup> Petro Morosini's *Thesaurus Numismatum* was imported from Italy, presumably acquired during Isaac Littlebury's time in Italy.<sup>35</sup> The Library acquired copies of Mercator's *Atlas*, Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, Abraham Ortelius' *Cosmographi Et Geographi Regii* as well as three volumes of work on the Ottomans by Paul Rycaut

<sup>32</sup> Daniel R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, p. 225.

<sup>33</sup> Livy, *The Roman History* (London: Awnsham Churchill, 1686); Thucydides, *Peloponnesiakou Polemou Biblia Okto* (Oxoniae: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1696).

<sup>34</sup> Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Uniuersalis* (Basileae: Ex officina Henricpetrina, 1572); Seth Calvisius, *Opus Chronologicum* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Christiani Gerlachii et al., 1650); Samuel Bochart, *Geographiae Sacrae* (Cadomi: Typis Petri Cardonelli et al., 1651); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London: Henrie Fetherstone, 1626); George Sandys, *A Relation of a Iourney* (London: Ro: Allot, 1632).

<sup>35</sup> Petro Morosini, *Thesaurus Numismatum* (Venetiis: Io: Francisci Valuasensis, 1683); Peter Leycester, *Historical Antiquities* (London: Robert Clavell, 1673).



and a volume published in part by Robert Littlebury himself, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's *Collections of Travels through Turkey into Persia*.<sup>36</sup>

Ecclesiastical history formed the backbone of the Library's historical acquisitions before and after 1661. Nearly forty percent of its acquisitions in history can be classed as relating to church and ecclesiastical history, and the trustees' willingness to acquire titles on the subject remained constant throughout the century, although the nature of the acquisitions changed. Some fifty-four titles on church history were acquired before 1661, while a further 128 were acquired thereafter. The material relating to ecclesiastical history that the Library purchased between 1655 and 1661 illuminates two of the most important aspects of the reception and employment of texts at Chetham's Library: the trustees' eirenic and scholarly interest in all areas of British and Continental scholarship, and their responsiveness to the emergence of new books and new trends in that scholarship. As an example of the intellectually wide-ranging interests of the trustees, the intensely Catholic Counter-Reformation work *Annales Ecclesiastici* (edited by Caesar Baronius) and the arch-Lutheran *Magdeburg Centuries* were delivered by the end of 1656, and were in fact shelved next to each other.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, these titles were expensive. The *Magdeburg Centuries* cost £3 and the *Annales Ecclesiastici* cost £7 10s., which demonstrated the trustees' willingness to spend a great deal of money on divergent works. Their acquisition of these titles was too extensive to be simply for the purpose of confutation or criticism of doctrine out of its own words, and their juxtaposition was intentional. This was, as with the acquisition of Jesuitical material in the chapter relating to theology, a conscious decision on the part of the trustees. The scholarly engagement and rebuttal of popish and Jesuitical threats was important to produce effective learned responses to their work, and to act as a unifying force in the English Church. The extensive, thoughtful and scholarly purchasing of the key texts of Reformation and Counter-Reformation scholarship was for the ambitious purpose of

<sup>36</sup> Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas Sive Cosmographicae* (Amsterdam: H. Hondij, 1623); Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie* (London: Henry Seile, 1652); Abraham Ortelius, *Cosmographi Et Geographi Regii* (Extant Bruxellis: Franciscum Foppens, 1683); Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire* (London: John Starkey, 1680); Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Collections of Travels through Turkey* (London: Moses Pitt, 1684).

<sup>37</sup> Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Antuerpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1597); Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Ecclesiastica Historia* (Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum, 1559).

the encouragement of eirenicism and learning in Manchester in the later seventeenth century.

Aside from the ecumenical interest in the acquisition of so many titles of ecclesiastical history, the Library's acquisitions in this field were marked by a pronounced responsiveness to new titles published in Britain and on the Continent. Of the 128 titles of Church history acquired by the Library, ninety-two were published after 1655, making the acquisitions in Church history made between 1655 and 1661 some of the newest titles on any subject bought by the Library. Many came to the Library within a short time of their publication, both from London and from the Continent. Such new British titles included a new edition of the works of Josephus,<sup>38</sup> published and acquired in 1670, and a 1683 edition of Samuel Cradock's *History of the Old Testament* was delivered within a year of its emergence on to the market.<sup>39</sup> Through Samuel Smith and Robert Littlebury, the Library received a number of imported Continental works shortly after publication. In 1684, the year in which the work was published, and at a cost of eight shillings, Samuel Smith supplied Johann Heinrich Heidegger's *Historia Papatus*, printed in Amsterdam at the Wetstein printing house.<sup>40</sup> Smith was an established importer of Wetstein titles, and he was certainly able to provide them to the Library within a year of publication. Thomas Ittig's 1690 work, *De Haeresiarchis Aevi Apostolici & Apostolico Proximi*, published in Leipzig, was supplied within a year of its publication, presumably the result of Smith's extensive Continental trade connections.<sup>41</sup> Church history was a core component of the Library's acquisitions, and the rates of acquisition supported their intellectual and eirenic interests.

### *The Formation of Anglican Identity after the Civil War*

The acquisition of works of Church history was intended to act as a unifying force on the Church of England after the Reformation. Chapter Four discussed the importance of patristic texts (and the best

<sup>38</sup> *The Famous and Memorable Works of Josephus* (London: Abel Roper, 1670).

<sup>39</sup> Samuel Cradock, *The History of the Old Testament Methodiz'd* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1683).

<sup>40</sup> Johann Heinrich Heidegger, *Historia Papatus* (Amstelaedami: Apud Henricum Wetstenium, 1684).

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Ittig, *De Haeresiarchis* (Lipsiae: Sumpt. haeredum Friderici Lanckisii, 1690).

patristic editions) to the defence of the Church of England in the seventeenth century, and later to the defence of episcopacy. Works of history, and particularly 'English' history, were essential to proving the independent origin of Christianity in Britain and in the defence of English identity as far back as the Saxon period. This interest in the past was not simply historical, but was related to research into the common law, antiquarian studies and archaeology. The Library's acquisitions in history reflect this growth in characteristically 'English' historical study towards the end of the seventeenth century. Early acquisitions included two works by Matthew Parker on the early English Church, as well as Latin and English editions of William Camden's *Britannia*, which had become 'the pole-star of a new generation with a scholarly passion for the history of the country'.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, works by John Selden and James Ussher on chronology and early English history were acquired before 1661. Selden's edition of Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* (acquired in 1655) provided the first comprehensive analysis of the Domesday Book, while Ussher's *Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and Brittish* was part of a concerted effort to establish the roots of a British Church independent of Rome.<sup>43</sup> This interest in 'English' history was expressed in philology and dictionaries, reflected in the Library's acquisition of William Somner's 1659 *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* and in Abraham Wheelocke's edition of the collected works of the Venerable Bede.<sup>44</sup> The Library acquired Henry Spelman's antiquarian writings as they emerged, including his *Glossarium Archaologicum* and the *Concilia Decreta Leges*, both purchased within a year of their publication in 1664.<sup>45</sup>

The greatest influence on the rise of a characteristically English 'antiquarian' field of study was the antiquary William Dugdale, fourteen of whose edited works on antiquities, chorography and topography were acquired by the Library between 1655 and October 1685. To these must be added Peter Leycester's *Historical Antiquities* and James Ware

<sup>42</sup> Nicolas Barker, 'Editing the Past: Classical and Historical Scholarship', *CHBB* IV, p. 211.

<sup>43</sup> James Ussher, *A Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and Brittish* (London: Partners of the Irish Stocke, 1631).

<sup>44</sup> William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (Oxonii: Daniele White, 1659); Bede, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum Libri V* (Cantabrigiae: Excudebat Rogerus Daniel, 1643).

<sup>45</sup> Henry Spelman, *Glossarium Archaologicum* (Londini: Apud Aliciam Warren, 1664); Henry Spelman, *Concilia, Decreta, Leges* (Londini: apud Aliciam Warren, 1664).

on Irish antiquities.<sup>46</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* opened up a new area of historical research, and provided the foundations for such future investigations as Henry Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1691), which turned its attention to the documentary history of the cathedrals served by monastic houses.<sup>47</sup> As Nicolas Barker notes, Wharton's *magnum opus*, delivered to Chetham's Library in the year of its publication in 1691, 'did not conceal the familiar ulterior motive of establishing the independence of the British Church'.<sup>48</sup> The role of the past in the defence of an English, and specifically Anglican, identity was an important part of the acquisitions made by the Library throughout this period.

One 'quasi-iconic' book that was central to the defence of English Protestant identity in the early modern period that was not acquired was John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563).<sup>49</sup> Much as with the donation of copies to three Lancashire libraries before 1700, Humphrey Chetham had specified that copies of Foxe's work, which filled a vacuum 'left behind by waves of iconoclasm that swept England during the previous century' were to be purchased for each of the five parochial libraries at a cost of around forty shillings.<sup>50</sup> Its absence from the main library is not surprising. Given the trustees' commitment to buying learned Continental works, a vernacular Protestant book that was duplicated in each of the parochial libraries were not a high priority. By comparison, few university and college libraries bought copies. For example, the copies at Magdalen College, Oxford were first and second editions donated by Foxe himself when his friend Laurence Humphrey was the president of the college. Many editions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries entered college and university libraries as the result of nineteenth- and twentieth-century benefactions.<sup>51</sup> The defence of the identity of the Church of England at Chetham's Library was more wide-ranging, more Continental and Latin in outlook than the books intended for the same purpose in the parochial libraries.

The book trade played an essential part in the creation of these new forms of English historical knowledge. Subscription publication, which

<sup>46</sup> Peter Leycester, *Historical Antiquities, in Two Books* (London: Robert Clavell, 1673); James Ware, *Rerum Hibernicarum Annales* (Dublinii: Johannis Crook, 1664).

<sup>47</sup> Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (Londini: Richardi Chiswel, 1691).

<sup>48</sup> Nicolas Barker, 'Editing the Past', p. 222.

<sup>49</sup> John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, p. 279; Christie, p. 115–20.

<sup>51</sup> John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, p. 281.

had been so successful in the production of Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible and of John Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, enabled the publication of expensive quality editions of books of heraldry, topography, history and cartography by scholars such as Dugdale, Roger Dodsworth and Richard Plome, all of whose works were acquired by Chetham's Library in the 1660s. The first effort at subscription publication Joshua Barnes' *Life of King Edward III*, printed at Cambridge in 1688, was only a limited success.<sup>52</sup> Robert Littlebury was himself a publisher of works on historical topics, including a 1683 reprint of Edward Herbert's *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*. Although the Library in fact received the 1649 edition of Herbert's work, it is worth noting that it was Herbert who gave the first serious consideration of the epistemology of history. He provided a 'reverse anticipation' of Karl Popper's concept of 'falsifiability', and demonstrated that there was a willingness to concede the existence of the unknowable, a new step in historical study in the late seventeenth century.<sup>53</sup>

The role of the past in the formation of an English identity was problematic in that the Library trustees deliberately avoided works relating to the controversies of the 1640s. Whereas the library of the antiquary and religious controversialist Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644) contained a number of books and tracts dating from 1641, only in the later 1660s and 1670s did Chetham's Library finally purchase large-scale works of scholarship arising out of the Civil War, although its holdings did far exceed Dering's in size and quality.<sup>54</sup> A copy of *Eikon Basilike*, the purported spiritual autobiography of Charles I first published in 1649, was not delivered until 1669, six years after its publication; a work by its republican polar opposite, John Milton's *The History of Britain*, was acquired in July 1672.<sup>55</sup> That Milton's major political and literary works are missing from the seventeenth-century acquisitions is striking, given his enormous cultural significance in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Similarly slow to be acquired were the wider works of history that covered the events of the period; James Heath's *Chronicle of the Late Intestine War* was delivered only in 1683,

<sup>52</sup> Joshua Barnes, *The History of That Most Victorious Monarch Edward III* (Cambridge: for the author, 1688); James Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 105.

<sup>53</sup> Daniel R. Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking About the Past, 1500–1700', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), p. 68.

<sup>54</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, pp. 310–12.

<sup>55</sup> Charles I, *Basilika* (London: R. Royston, 1662); John Milton, *The History of Britain* (London: Spencer Hickman, 1671).

Bulstrode Whitelock's *Memorials of the English Affairs* in 1682, and David Lloyd's 1668 work *The Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths* was delivered in 1690, some twenty-two years after its initial publication.<sup>56</sup>

The slowness to acquire works on recent historical topics, and the unwillingness to purchase works by recent authors such as John Milton, is underlined by the absence from the collections of any tracts, pamphlets or small-format works relating either to the Civil War or to the Popish controversies of 1679–1681. The absence of these documents may be the result of the trustees' unwillingness to spend money on ephemeral small-format material without a longer-term use at the Library, as was discussed in Chapter Two. Yet Chetham's Library was not alone in not acquiring such texts. The major contemporary collection of Civil War pamphlets was made not by a library or book-collector but by the London bookseller George Thomason, whose collection is preserved as the Thomason Tracts collection at the British Library.<sup>57</sup> Although it is unclear exactly when Chetham's Library's extensive collections of tracts relating to the Civil War and to the Popery crises of the 1680s became part of its collections, they did not come in the seventeenth century.

The absence of tracts and pamphlets relating to religious controversy and the heavily delayed acquisition of books about the recent past is at odds with the overall pattern of purchases and deliveries of historical titles from Robert Littlebury, Samuel Smith and the booksellers of Manchester in this period. Both the initial absences and the slow rate of acquisition reflect the trustees' desire for a process of reconciliation after the trauma of the Civil War and regicide. It was an exercise in political and religious reconciliation that showed how men of different perspectives could collaborate after the Civil War and the regicide and to encourage learning in north-west England.<sup>58</sup> As part of this effort, the feoffees named by Chetham for the Hospital had been evenly divided between royalists, parliamentarians and side-changers, forcing former opponents to work together in the interests of the charity.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> James Heath, *Chronicle of the Late Intestine War* (London: Thomas Basset, 1676); Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1682); David Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths* (London: Samuel Speed *et al.*, 1668).

<sup>57</sup> For more on the Thomason Tracts, go to <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/prbooks/thomason/thomasoncivilwar.html> [Accessed July 2, 2009].

<sup>58</sup> Guscott, p. 280.

<sup>59</sup> Guscott, p. 281.

Tilsley, Hollinworth and Johnson, the three men originally appointed to select books for the Library, were from radically different religious and political backgrounds. The absence of recent historical topics was part of the same nervous attitude that led to the delayed acquisition of Arminian and Socinian theological material during the 1650s and 1660s. The commitment to the preservation of the patrimony therefore had a number of limits.

In the range, expense and bibliographical quality of the acquisitions, the Library trustees were committed to the provision of a universality of historical knowledge throughout the seventeenth century. That provision was driven in part by a desire to look for evidence of a characteristically English identity, which drew in a number of antiquarian, topographical and philological works produced by an increasingly powerful British book trade. History and classical books were acquired throughout the seventeenth century, even if at times reception was qualified by the conditions of acquisition. The next section, on the Library's acquisition of legal texts throughout the seventeenth century, addresses the very different pattern of large occasional deliveries of legal works, although the same qualifications about the role of the book trade and its need to move stock on have to be included in its analysis.

### *Law Books at Chetham's Library*

During the seventeenth century, legal publications saw a similar growth from a position of real weakness and a shift from manuscript to print in order to meet the demands of the growing legal profession. By the time of Charles II, while access to the Statute Book was ensured by works that included Ferdinando Pulton's *Collection of Sundry Statutes* and the continuing output of the King's Printers, until the 1650s many law reports circulated in manuscript. Such shortages among a growing legal community inevitably meant high prices. In 1657, William Prynne had complained that one could 'buy Brook's Abridgments of the Year-Books for 30 or 40s. whereas the Year Books it abridgeth will cost near as many pounds'.<sup>60</sup> This was likely to be an exaggeration since there is evidence that the price of a set was closer to £20, but it was still a very high sum. Trinity College Cambridge paid £20 for a set of law books in

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<sup>60</sup> J.H. Baker, 'English Law Books and Legal Publishing', *CHBB* IV, p. 478.



1648, while Chetham's Library paid the same price for its set of law books in 1665.<sup>61</sup> Michael Sparke argued that law books were massively overpriced; in his 1641 pamphlet *Scintilla*, Sparke noted that

Observe, I pray now, I come to the Law books, I had need to break two lights into the Warehouse...Pultons Statutes, sold at 1l. 10sh in quires in former times, now rayased to 6sh 8d a Book: the impression of 1500 so rayased by the Monopolist amounts to 500li.<sup>62</sup>

Despite the exaggeration, Prynne and Sparke's points about the high cost of law books stand as examples of the problems of availability and the economic exigencies of the book trade. The Library's legal acquisitions demonstrate only too well the issues behind distribution and reception in the trade in law books in this period.

Law was not on the curricula of the universities in the seventeenth century, and although there was consequently little academic interest in their acquisition, the trustees stocked the Library in the interests of scholarly completeness and books' longer-term usefulness. Whereas most other subjects were built up across the whole period, legal works came to the Library as two large deliveries in 1665 and 1689 from the specialist law booksellers John Starkey and Christopher Wilkinson. Unlike theological or scientific books, where Littlebury and Smith had the requisite expertise, the trustees relied upon a specialist bookseller to provide them with titles. The first set of books came in July 1665 at a cost of £20 from the controversial London bookseller John Starkey. The coverage that these works provided was undeniably extensive and far exceeded the provision made by many other institutions; there were copies of all the available yearbooks, essential 'if the student will attain to any depth in the Law'<sup>63</sup>, alongside copies of Plowden's *Commentaries*, Dyer's *Ascuns Novel Cases*, Rastell's *Collection of Statutes* and *Abridgments* by Brooke and Fitzherbert.<sup>64</sup> As a batch delivered ten years after the Library's foundation, the rate and circumstances of acquisition, along with the prices paid and the unusual character of

<sup>61</sup> *Trinity College*, p. 124.

<sup>62</sup> Michael Sparke, *Scintilla*, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted in William Fulbecke, *A Direction or Preparative to the Study of the Lawe* (At London: Thomas Wight, 1600).

<sup>64</sup> Edmund Plowden, *Les Commentaries* (London: Companie of Stationers, 1613); James Dyer, *Nouel Cases Collectes* (London: Companie of Stationers, 1621); John Rastell, *Le Liuer Des Assises Et Plees Del Corone* (Londini: ex typographia Societatis Stationariorum, 1606); Robert Brooke and Anthony Fitzherbert, *Anni Decem Priores* (Londini: Ianae Yetsweirt, 1596).



some of the later acquisitions, suggests that the wider reception of law books at Chetham's Library owed much to the ebb and flow of the book trade and the trustees' understanding that law books were deployed in a variety of different ways.

Their late acquisition aside, the law titles the Library received were certainly more extensive than the holdings of town libraries in Norwich, Bristol and Wisbech, and better than many of the university and college libraries. However, while the Library had an impressive range of law titles, such acquisitions necessarily raise the question of the intended readership at the Library in the mid-1660s. The Library's university-educated readers were not overly concerned with legal texts, and had little understanding of the scholarly or economic value of the acquisitions, as the Accessions Register identified the books simply under the general price and a general title 'Law Books Bought of Mr Starkey'. Moreover, there was little or no legal community in Manchester, so there was no professional need for such books, unlike at institutions such as the Middle Temple Library. The major judicial centres in the north-west were at Lancaster and Chester; it was to Lancaster Gaol that Richard Johnson was taken in 1646, and the *Sermon* by Nicholas Stratford that was published by Robert Littlebury was originally given at Chester Assizes. Many of the books delivered in the early years were of little or no scholarly value in Manchester and provincial England at the time, including the *Statutes of Ireland* and the *Statutes and Laws of Scotland*.<sup>65</sup> The Library's copy of the latter belonged to the Scottish jurist Sir John Skene, and is signed 'J. Skene' on the title page.

A large number of the legal titles were in Romance and Law French, presumably a language that few in Manchester were able to read, reinforcing the inaccessibility and lack of immediate usefulness of the texts. The provision of a universality of knowledge was qualified by the absence of an immediate (or longer-term) readership for the books purchased. This lack of readership was also compounded by the other great problem of the early modern book trade. Booksellers passed on unprofitable stock to unsuspecting customers, and the presence of a book in a library does not necessarily mean that it was wished for or

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<sup>65</sup> *The Statutes of Ireland* (Dublin: Societie of Stationers, 1621); *The Lawes and Actes of Parliament* (At Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1597). I am grateful to Dr Alistair Mann of the University of Stirling and to Professor Hector MacQueen of the School of Law at the University of Edinburgh for the identification of Skene's signature.

read at the Library.<sup>66</sup> John Starkey already had a reputation as a wily practitioner of the dark arts of moving on unprofitable stock; although a copy was not delivered to Chetham's Library, in 1680 Starkey replaced the title pages of his 1675 edition of the collected works of Machiavelli with a new one bearing the new date, and left the text otherwise unchanged.<sup>67</sup> It seems therefore that unsold editions of Machiavelli's work languished in Starkey's warehouses for five years until it became apparent that radical action had to be taken.

The second set of law books, delivered by Christopher Wilkinson in July 1689 at a cost of £17 2s. 6d., was certainly characteristic of a set despatched by a London bookseller keen to offload stock. While the delivery contained some relatively new titles (including Nathaniel Bacon's 1689 *Government of England* in one volume), it contained two titles that duplicated existing volumes in the Library (Brooke's *Abridgment* and Dalton's *Office of Sheriffs*), as well as a title nearly twenty years old (Edward Coke's *Book of Entries*) in the production of which Wilkinson owned shares.<sup>68</sup> The copy of Coke's *Book of Entries* sent to Chetham's Library was the second edition, as the first edition had been issued in 1614. If the book had been a priority for the trustees, it would have been purchased in its first edition or in its second edition shortly after being issued in 1671.<sup>69</sup> The second edition's absence from so many comparable early modern library catalogues, and its very high sale price (£2 15s.), suggests that this was a title that did not sell well, and that Wilkinson was keen to rid himself of a copy to an institution that was able to afford such a title without complaining about its price.

The reception of legal texts at Chetham's Library was deeply problematic in that for all its extensiveness, the range of acquisitions and the rate at which they were made underline the points made throughout this book. The presence of a book in a library is by no means conclusive proof of it being read or understood. Its presence can instead

<sup>66</sup> David D. Hall, 'What Was the History of the Book? A Response', p. 539.

<sup>67</sup> When the 1675 and 1680 editions of *The Works of the Famous Nicholas Machiavel* are compared, it is possible to see that both editions have the same irregular pagination, which suggests that the 1680 edition is a reissue of the 1675 edition. I am grateful to Professor David Adams for pointing this out.

<sup>68</sup> Edward Coke, *A Book of Entries* (London: George Sawbridge, et al., including Christopher Wilkinson, 1671).

<sup>69</sup> Edward Coke, *A Booke of Entries* (London: Printed by Adam Islip for the Societie of Stationers, 1614).

testify to the ambitions of the buyer responsible for its acquisition or, more prosaically, to the economic and business interests of a bookseller seeking to rid himself of unprofitable stock. To return to Starkey's supply of books to Chetham's Library and to his bibliographical sleight of hand, although the Library accepted the legal titles in 1665, the fact that Starkey was engaged in such practices can be included in wider debates about textual reception in the context of political discourse. In an article in 2005, Mark Knights contended that the study of John Starkey as an 'ideological broker' in the publication and dissemination of texts can be a 'rich supplement to the author-centred approach for the history of political discourse'.<sup>70</sup> Knights's argument, despite seeking to engage with the role of the book trade in the reception of ideas, failed to see the economics of the book trade in its analysis. While Chetham's Library did not receive controversial works from Starkey, his activities in passing on unmarketable or unprofitable stock serve as a corrective to scholars who wish to make too much of a booksellers' political leanings or of Starkey's supply of books to an individual or institution.

The Library's relationship with the trade in law books and legal scholarship adds a further dimension to the patterns of acquisition during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The legal acquisitions reinforce the trustees' desire to provide a full range of scholarly resources and the preservation of a body of knowledge, but the activities of the Library's booksellers warn against making too much of a book's reception from its presence in, or absence from, a collection or library. The next section draws the lessons of these three subject areas together and sets out the terms of the next chapter on the acquisition of scientific titles.

### *The Book Trade in the Formation and Distribution of Historical Knowledge*

This chapter has been considerably shorter than the previous chapter and is less complicated than the next. This is the result of the need to separate out three distinct areas of scholarly endeavour, and because it is important to be clear about the common implications to be drawn

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<sup>70</sup> Mark Knights, 'John Starkey and Ideological Networks in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *Media History*, 11:1/2 (2005), p. 139.

from these three sets of acquisitions. The study of the reception of works of classics, history and law in the early modern period has received much scholarly attention in recent years. The lessons from the Library's acquisitions for the history of politics and the history of reading need to be added to this analysis. Classical texts came to Chetham's Library very early on in the Library's history because they were very useful additions, and they continued to be a source of interest and scholarly need throughout the seventeenth century. As the later acquisitions demonstrate, the presence of some titles owed more to the activities of the book trade than to the choices made by the trustees, although the trustees were willing to add them in the interests of preservation and patrimony. History, both classical and modern, was of interest to the trustees throughout the period, but the defence of a characteristically 'English' and Anglican identity in the 1650s and 1660s was qualified at Chetham's Library by the trustees' desire to gloss over the trauma of the recent past. Legal titles, while part of the trustees' interest in providing a full range of scholarship to readers, were subject to the vagaries of booksellers and the need to move on stock. In each case, the Library's acquisitions show the growing strength of the British book trade in the later seventeenth century, and in particular its role in the formation and dissemination of new scholarly ideas. Such analysis merits qualification and amplification in the character of early modern reading and in the vagaries of the early modern book trade. Thinking in this way necessarily means that the study of reception is bound up with the study of the book trade, distribution networks and the power of the book trade to constitute, validate and disseminate forms of new forms of knowledge. Now that the reception of texts at Chetham's Library has been considered and at times qualified further, it is possible to do more. The next chapter is more challenging and ambitious in its examination of the scholarly debates on the role of print culture in seventeenth-century science, in its analysis of Robert Littlebury's place within the print culture of experimental science, in the identification of the Library trustees as provincial readers, consumers of works of experimental science, and in the description of the international and reciprocal relationships at work in this field.

## CHAPTER VI

### NATURAL PHILOSOPHY AND 'USEFUL' TEXTS

#### *The History of the Book and the History of Science*

There are a number of parallels between the disciplines of the history of science and the history of the book, not least their recent growth into freestanding units of scholarly enquiry. Much like the history of science some years before, the 'History of the Book' has now developed its own journals, practitioners, graduate students and undergraduate courses. Yet in many respects, it is important to avoid the disciplinary trap of identification solely within the field of book history or 'History of the Book'. Rather, the acquisition of books by Chetham's Library can be used to explore a number of intellectual, book-trade and material networks that go beyond confinement within the discipline of book history.

This chapter concerns itself with the Library's acquisition of scientific texts in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is in effect the logical conclusion of the book as a whole. Whereas the previous three chapters have been largely concerned with questions of distribution or reception, in the study of the Library's acquisition of scientific texts through Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith, it seeks to combine the study of distribution and reception, which raises questions about early modern scientific enquiry and its relationship with the book trade and print culture. Humphrey Chetham's will had stated that a 'publick library' should be erected in perpetuity. As it demonstrates, the acquisition of scientific books, in spite of their complexity and troubled early reception in Manchester, was part of the trustees' commitment to this longer-term scholarly ambition.

The content and form of Natural Philosophy were hotly contested throughout the seventeenth century. For the sake of this chapter, the definition of science and natural philosophy comes from Michael Hunter, who has suggested that the Royal Society was undeniably significant in its 'definitional' capacity for early modern science: 'centring on natural and mechanical problems but extending through the life sciences towards medicine and through chemistry and applied

mathematics towards technology.<sup>1</sup> Debate raged as to whether scientific knowledge was to be arrived at by individual experiment or in the absorption of wisdom in libraries from the authority of ancient writers. By the middle of the seventeenth century, libraries were envisaged as sites of intellectual engagement; the Lancashire radical John Webster went so far as to suggest that progress was only attainable if universities had laboratories and libraries.<sup>2</sup> Coincidentally, Webster's own extensive collection of scientific books, built up at around the same time as that of Chetham's Library, forms a useful comparison for the collections.<sup>3</sup> As Edward Bernard wrote to John Collins in 1671, 'book and experiments do well together'.<sup>4</sup> The connection between the two enterprises can be extended, because those involved in experimental science in turn shaped the possibilities offered by print, and scientific culture influenced print culture.<sup>5</sup> To study the distribution and reception of scientific works at Chetham's Library offers a uniquely rich opportunity to see how the two issues interacted throughout the seventeenth century.

For a chapter as large and complicated as this one, the Library's scientific titles were only a small part of its total collection. Scientific works formed a group of around four hundred titles out of a complete body of around three thousand titles in the Library catalogue. By 1700, there were as many works of biblical commentary and harmony as scientific titles. Natural philosophy was very much part of the curricula of the universities, and scientists' personal libraries displayed a diversity of focus that ran from music and art to maps and plans.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Scott Mandelbrote questions whether it is possible to speak honestly of collectors of medical and scientific libraries in the early modern period, as such books 'tended to form only a minor part of substantial private libraries'.<sup>7</sup> However, the scientific acquisitions by Chetham's Library deserve detailed attention precisely because of their much wider

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Paul A. Nelles, 'Libraries, Books and Learning, from Bacon to the Enlightenment', *CHL* II, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Elmer, *The Library of Dr. John Webster: the Making of a seventeenth-century radical* (London: Wellcome Institute for the Institute of Medicine, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Edward Bernard to John Collins, 3 April 1671, quoted in Stephen Rigaud, *Correspondence of Scientific Men of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: At the University Press, 1841), f. 158r.

<sup>5</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, pp. 54–55.

<sup>6</sup> Leona Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke*.

<sup>7</sup> Scott Mandelbrote, *Converse with Books*, p. 3.

significance. Most obviously, the Library had a more extensive range of scientific titles than almost every other comparable institutional and private library of the period, although the immediate readership for the titles in Manchester was very small. Moreover, the intellectual, book-trade and correspondence networks through which the Library purchased scientific texts are unusually full of evidence about the book-trade, textual reception and the material forms of scientific knowledge. As the point of intersection of so many different factors, this study of the distribution and reception of scientific texts can test and revise the historical view of the early modern British and Continental trade in scientific books and instruments.

This chapter begins with a detailed critique of the scholarly problems that surround the publication history of works of early modern science. The evidence of the Library's acquisitions can recast the way in which the relationship between book history and scientific endeavour is understood. The Library's scientific titles between 1655 and 1661, can be compared with the later 'experimental' scientific titles purchased after 1661 in order to show the influence of English experimental science in the early modern period. The chapter continues with an examination of the scientific book trade from the evidence of the Library's scientific acquisitions and its relationship with the booksellers and the scientific community, and considers the intellectual and material aspects of the distribution and reception of scientific texts. It considers the role of the trustees' concern for their own personal interests and the Library's long-term interests and ambitions, with particular respect to the Library's acquisition of a copy of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* in 1690. Finally, through the evidence of the scientific acquisitions and the lessons of previous chapters, it draws the book to a close. It prefigures the Conclusion in its argument that to study books is work outwards into intellectual and material cultures and readership. Attention turns first to the heated controversies that surround the interpretation of the history of science in the early modern period. The next section addresses the ways in which the evidence of Robert Littlebury's supply of scientific books to Chetham's Library dissolve and reform the boundaries and limitations imposed by recent scholarship.

### *The Relationship between Print and Natural Philosophy*

The study of the relationship between print culture and scientific study has in recent years been shaped and at times obscured by the fierce

debate between Elizabeth Eisenstein, the author of *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, and Adrian Johns, author of *The Nature of the Book*, over the power of the printed word in scholarly endeavour.<sup>8</sup> For Eisenstein, print powered a previously unacknowledged 'paradigm shift' that enabled an authoritative 'typographical fixity' which allowed the world's stock of recordable knowledge to be employed with a fearsome new efficiency. Scientific knowledge was standardised, fixed and disseminated through print, repeatable on subsequent occasions and in different locations.<sup>9</sup> For Eisenstein, the Renaissance and Reformation were rendered permanent by the very permanence of their canonical texts; science itself became possible on the basis of reliably recorded phenomena and theories. As Eisenstein wrote, 'The 'Scientific Revolution' was thus inconceivable without a preceding printing revolution.'<sup>10</sup>

Central to Eisenstein's argument is the attribution of fixity and authority to the products of the printing press. Instead, with a theoretical approach drawn from Roger Chartier's work on reading practices, Adrian Johns' meticulously researched monograph *The Nature of the Book* argued that trust and reliability in a text were not inherent during the first centuries of book production.<sup>11</sup> Rather (and it is worth a quotation *in extenso* here) Johns contends that

What we often regard as essential elements and necessary concomitants of print are in fact rather more contingent than is generally acknowledged. Veracity in particular is...extrinsic to the press itself, and has had to be grafted onto it. The same may be said of other cognate attributes associated with printing. In short, *The Nature of the Book* claims that the very identity of print itself has to be *made*. [Author's italics].<sup>12</sup>

Print did not bring fixity, Johns claims, but instead raised questions of 'credit', of judgments of individual texts based on critical appraisals of its identity, reliability and the people involved in the manufacture, distribution and reception of books, particularly in new endeavours such as experimental science. The tone of the two scholars' disagreement is

<sup>8</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 16–20.

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, p. 107.

<sup>11</sup> Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988), pp. 33–34.

<sup>12</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 3.



at times ill tempered, and despite their apparent opposition, Eisenstein and Johns obscure what they regard as crucial. It is the same issue on which the argument here rests: that print culture shaped, and was shaped by, intellectual endeavour in all its guises, from printers to publishers, booksellers and readers.

Eisenstein and Johns subsequently revisited their debate in a forum published by *American Historical Review* entitled 'How to Acknowledge a Revolution'. Each claimed that their opponent had missed the point of their argument by a deliberate misreading of each other's work.<sup>13</sup> There is, of course, an element of truth in the charge. Johns ignores the fact that Eisenstein's book was a work of historiographical reflection on an ignored 'revolution' in history rather than a detailed history of early modern print culture. Johns argues that Eisenstein's rhetorical style has hampered her case; her characteristically early modern reading practice of 'commonplacing' to summarise Johns' and her own arguments distorts the case she makes against him. Neither account thinks widely enough about issues of textual distribution and reception, as understood and outlined in this study of the acquisition and reception of books and other materials at Chetham's Library. The reception of early modern science at Chetham's Library can be analysed in such a way as to rectify this omission and do justice to the book trade and the history of intellectual and textual reception.

The most fruitful way to think about textual reception and distribution is not to reify the discipline of the 'history of the book'.<sup>14</sup> The study of textual reception should not be concerned simply with the reception of ideas in themselves, but with the material and trade history of the books that contained such ideas. Inherent in Johns's work is the assumption that the different material forms of printed texts, and the sale of scientific instruments, were an automatically supportive element in the dissemination of scientific ideas. As the acquisitions by Chetham's Library demonstrate, the reception of these texts, journals and instruments in fact undermined the dissemination of scientific knowledge intended by their production and sale. Second, neither party is as confident or as clear on the history of the book trade as such

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, 'An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited', *The American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), pp. 87–105; Adrian Johns, 'How to Acknowledge a Revolution', *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002), pp. 106–25; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, 'How to Acknowledge a Revolution: Reply', *The American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), pp. 126–28.

<sup>14</sup> Peter D. McDonald, 'Discipline Envy and Book History', p. 55.

studies deserve. Eisenstein's book, whilst it makes no claim to have made substantial archival research, does not address the book trade as a means of distributing texts. It is, as David Shaw put it in a contemporary review, 'a historian's book rather than a bibliographer's'.<sup>15</sup> As the titles bought by Chetham's Library through Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith demonstrate, the London scientific book trade was outwith the workings of the Stationers' Company and was firmly international in outlook. Booksellers outside the Stationers' Company, including Robert Littlebury, Moses Pitt and Samuel Smith, practised a vibrant and profitable new and second-hand trade; Johns's argument can therefore be extended outwards into a more international and wider-lens analysis of the book trade. Given the role of the book trade and of print culture in the formation and dissemination of the fruits of early modern scientific research, it is vitally important to understand how the scientific book trade worked before its impact on early modern science can be studied.

Similarly, Johns and Eisenstein's work can be extended to be sensitive to the role of libraries, the materiality and the reception of texts in the history of early modern science. The absence of libraries in Eisenstein's work is partly the result of its focus on the 'unacknowledged revolution' of print culture, but the absence of libraries from Johns' work is particularly striking. While *The Nature of the Book* is predicated on arguments about readership, credibility, scientific debate and discussion, there are no entries in the extensive index for libraries, which bought large numbers of scientific titles in this period. The presence of a book or an instrument in Chetham's Library is certainly no guarantee that the trustees read books or used instruments in the ways suggested by historians. As the acquisition of scientific titles by Chetham's Library shows, the role of libraries in the dissemination of early modern science is more problematic, and both the place of libraries and the attendant qualifications need to be added to the historical record.

### *Natural Philosophy from the Outset: Scientific titles 1655–1661*

The scientific and medical titles at the Library reflected the place of science in early modern scholarship, the way in which seventeenth-century

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<sup>15</sup> David Shaw, 'Review, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change', *The Library*, 3 (1981), pp. 261–63.

students absorbed such knowledge, and the way in which scientific knowledge reached British libraries. At the universities, scientific texts were read alongside works on a variety of other subjects. For example, the presence of works of mathematics at Emmanuel College in Cambridge signalled that although Emmanuel's ministers had a humanist background, they had some opportunity for acquaintance with practical disciplines such as mathematics.<sup>16</sup> While medical knowledge had a higher status and was the subject of more formal provision, in most disciplines self-education by reading remained the predominant mode of acquiring knowledge. Chetham's Library was thus part of a scientific culture that emphasised personal reading across a variety of subjects.

The best way to identify the quality and diversity of what the trustees regarded as key works of natural philosophy is to look in detail at the 140 'scientific' titles delivered by Robert Littlebury between 1655 and 1700. The scientific acquisitions in the early years of the Library's history (1655–1700) were already far superior to the books and other items held by comparable institutions such as Trinity and Emmanuel Colleges in Cambridge. The trustees at Chetham's Library spent large sums of money not just on books but also on a number of globes and instruments, as recorded in Littlebury's first delivery in August 1655. By comparison, the Library at Trinity College Cambridge only received scientific titles and instruments as gifts and donations.<sup>17</sup> As for other Cambridge colleges, Philip Gaskell acknowledges that 'if Trinity's science collections were imperfect, those of the other colleges were yet more so'.<sup>18</sup> Gaskell noted that Trinity did not own Gilbert's *De magnete*, Galileo's *Siderus Nuncius*, Kepler's *Harmonices Mundi*, Borelli's *De motu animalium*, anything by Boyle or John Ray, all of which were acquired by Chetham's Library within this period. The intellectual diversity and quality of early acquisitions in science and medicine by Chetham's Library is remarkable. In mathematics, early acquisitions included works by Euclid, Schoener and Clavius, as well as works of algebra by Diophantus and Thomas Hariot, and trigonometry with Henry Briggs' *Trigonometria Britannica*.<sup>19</sup> Applied mathematics, in the

<sup>16</sup> *Emmanuel College*, p. 125.

<sup>17</sup> *Trinity College*, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> *Trinity College*, p. 90 n.1

<sup>19</sup> Euclid, *Elementorum Libri Xv* (Pisauri: Guilielmi Ingenieri, 1619); Johann Schöner, *Opera Mathematica* (Norinbergae: Ioannis Montani, 1551); Christoph Clavius, *Opera Mathematica* (Moguntiae: Reinhardus Eltz, 1612); Diophantus,

form of architecture, was important: Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, for example, was acquired in 1660.<sup>20</sup> Applied mathematics pertained to warfare and siege craft, as the acquisition of Matthias Dögen's *Architectura Militaris Moderna* in 1658 testified.<sup>21</sup> In astronomy, in order to reflect the full range of scholarly debate, works in support of a variety of astronomical models were acquired from an early stage. Three works by Johannes Kepler were delivered between 1658 and 1660, while Tycho Brahe's *Tabulae Rudolphinae* was delivered in April 1658.<sup>22</sup> A 1641 Lyon edition of Galileo's *Systema Cosmicum* arrived from Littlebury in May 1656 at a cost of six shillings, and two newly published volumes by Ismael Boulliau defending the heliocentric model of the universe were delivered in 1660.<sup>23</sup> The trustees were concerned to buy works relating to physics and optics, as the early acquisition of titles by François de Aguilón, Friedrich Risner, Christoph Scheiner and Niccolò Zucchi demonstrated.<sup>24</sup> Natural history, in the form of books dealing with botany, birds and other animals, was equally popular. A large number of works relating to animal biology and botany by Ulysses Aldrovandus were delivered in September 1655, while a 1617 edition of Konrad Gesner's catalogue of animals, the *Historiae Animalium*, came to the Library in May 1657.<sup>25</sup>

The Library's medical holdings (around thirty titles by 1661) were impressive and extensive. Five volumes by Galen were delivered in July 1657, while among other early acquisitions were works on surgery,<sup>26</sup>

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*Arithmeticonum Libri Sex* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Hieronymi Drouart, 1621); Thomas Hariot, *Artis Analyticae Praxis* (Londini: Robertum Barker, 1631); Henry Briggs, *Trigonometria Britannica* (Goudae: Petrus Rammasenius, 1633).

<sup>20</sup> Pollio Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem* (Amstelodami: Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1649).

<sup>21</sup> Matthias Dögen, *Architectura Militaris Moderna* (Amstelodami: Ludovicum Elezevirium, 1647).

<sup>22</sup> Johannes Kepler, *Astronomia Nova* (Prague: n.p., 1609); Johannes Kepler, *Harmonices Mundi* (Lincii: Ioannes Plancus, 1619); Johannes Kepler, *Astronomiae Pars Optica* (Francofurti: Claudium Marnium, 1604); Tycho Brahe, *Tabulae Rudolphinae* (Ulm: Johann Saur, 1627).

<sup>23</sup> Galileo Galilei, *Systema Cosmicum* (Lugduni: Ioan. Antonii. Huguetan, 1641); Ismael Boulliau, *De Lineis Spiralibus* (Parisiis: Sebastianum Cramoisy, 1657); Ismael Boulliau, *Exercitationes Geometricae* (Paris: Sebastianum Cramoisy, 1657).

<sup>24</sup> François de Aguilón, *Opticorum Libri Sex* (Antuerpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1613); Friedrich Risner, *Opticae Libri Quatuor* (Cassellis: Wilhelmo Wesselio, 1615); Christoph Scheiner, *Rosa Vrsina* (Bracciani: Andrean Phaeum, 1626); Niccolò Zucchi, *Optica Philosophia Experimentis* (Lugduni: Guillelmum Barbier, 1652).

<sup>25</sup> Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae* (Bonon: Marci Antonij Berniae, 1637); Konrad Gesner, *De Quadrupedibus Viuiiparis* (Francofurti: Henrici Laurentii, 1617).

<sup>26</sup> Wilhelm Fabricius Hildanus, *Opera Omnia* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Johannis Beyer, 1646).

physiology,<sup>27</sup> ophthalmology,<sup>28</sup> and pathology,<sup>29</sup> including work by members of the seventeenth-century Galeno-Hippocratic school of medicine, notably Daniel Sennert.<sup>30</sup> Works of pharmacy and pharmacology were purchased early on, as Horst's *Pharmacopoeia Galeno-chemica* and Pardoux's *Vniuersa Medicina* were acquired in 1656 and 1661.<sup>31</sup> 'Medical' titles included occult and iatrochemical works by Pietro Bongo and Jean Baptiste van Helmont.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, books on witchcraft, demonology and possession fell under the heading of important scientific works: copies of Bodin's *De Magorum Daemonomania*, Del Rio's *Disquisitionum Magicarum* and two volumes of Weyer's *De Praestigiis Daemonum* were all delivered by the end of 1655.<sup>33</sup>

The intellectual diversity of scientific acquisitions aside, the scientific titles delivered before 1661 were notable for a number of different reasons. Most of the scientific titles acquired between 1655 and 1661 were second-hand, and as with works in other subject areas purchased by the Library, the trustees were largely dependent upon the (second-hand) fruits of Continental scholarship for stock. The vast majority of titles were in Latin, with a handful in Greek and English. Ninety-three percent of the scientific titles were from Continental printers, and included works from Blaeu in Amsterdam, Plantin in Antwerp, Estienne in Geneva and Elsevier in Amsterdam. Although as Chapter Two pointed out, 'national' boundaries were largely irrelevant to the early modern book trade, there were large numbers of French, Dutch, Belgian and Swiss titles, as well as a number of works from Italy (around twenty percent of the total), and individual works from the Czech Republic, Austria and Poland. The presence of so many Italian

<sup>27</sup> Girolamo Capivaccio, *Opera Omnia* (Francofurti: E Paltheniana curante Iona Rhodio, 1603).

<sup>28</sup> Christoph Scheiner, *Oculus* (Londini: Excudebat J. Flesher, 1652).

<sup>29</sup> Johannes Schenck von Grafenberg, *Medici Apud Friburgo-Brisgoios Quondam Florentissimi* (Lugduni: Ioannis-Antonii Huguetan, 1644).

<sup>30</sup> Daniel Sennert, *Operum* (Lugduni: Sumptibus Ioannis Antonii Huguetan, 1656).

<sup>31</sup> Gregor Horst, *Operum Medicorum* (Norimbergae: Sumptibus Johann. Andreae, 1660), Barthélemy Pardoux, *Vniuersa Medicina* (Parisiis: Apud Mathurinum Henault, 1630).

<sup>32</sup> Pietro Bongo, *Numerorum Mysteria* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Reginaldum Chaudiere, 1618); Jean Baptiste van Helmont, *Ortus Medicinae* (Amsterodami: Lucovicum Elzevirium, 1652).

<sup>33</sup> Jean Bodin, *De Magorum Daemonomania* (Basileae: Thomam Guarinum, 1581); Johann Weyer, *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (Basileae: Ex officina Oporiniana, 1583).

titles in a provincial library in seventeenth-century Manchester, notably twenty-two volumes of Aldrovandus published at Bologna, Giuseppe Biancani (published in Modena) and Andrea Alciati (published in Padua), reinforces the point made by Paula Findlen that the Italian provincial cities were by no means cut off from mainstream scientific scholarship. It therefore bears repeating that, conversely, the English provinces were not cut off from Continental and Italian scientific scholarship.<sup>34</sup>

As befitted the trustees' interest in Eastern scholarship, the earliest scientific titles included works by Avicenna (ibn Sina), Dioscorides, Alhazen and Arnaldus, as well as the works of the ancients, including Aristotle, Hippocrates, Pliny and Plotinus.<sup>35</sup> The respect accorded to ancient philosophers by the trustees was counterbalanced by an interest in new and emergent scholarship, particularly among 'experimental' scientists, *inter alia* Francis Bacon (two of whose works were acquired by the end of 1656), Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and from the Continent, Pierre Gassendi's *Opera Omnia* in six volumes.<sup>36</sup> The problem remains of whether there was actually a viable readership in mid-seventeenth century Manchester for such a wide and rich set of titles. The presumption has to be that there was no need for this academically ambitious collection, and that between them, the trustees and Robert Littlebury had stocked the Library in the interests of future scientific scholars and in the hope of encouraging this kind of learning in Manchester. The issues surrounding the reception of these texts in the town will be considered later in this chapter. The next section addresses the trustees' receptiveness to works of 'experimental' science and considers the Library's ongoing commitment to the encouragement of learning in Manchester.

<sup>34</sup> Paula Findlen, 'Review: From Aldrovandi to Algarotti: the contours of science in early modern Italy', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 24 (1991), pp. 353–60.

<sup>35</sup> Avicenna, *Avicennae Arabum Medicorum Principis* (Venetiis: Apud Iuntas, 1608); Dioscorides, *Ta Sozomena Hapanta* (Frankfurt am Main: Claudii Marnii & Aubrii, 1598); Alhazen, *Opticae Thesaurus* (Basileae: Per Episcopios, 1572); Arnaldus, *Opera Omnia* (Basileae: Conradum Waldkirch, 1585); Aristotle, *In Aristotelis Problemata Commentaria* (Lugduni: Claudij Landry, 1632); Hippocrates, *Hippocratis Magni Coacae Praenotiones* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Gaspari Meturas, 1658); Pliny, *Historiae Mundi Libri Xxxvii* (Lugduni: Apud Antonium Candidum, 1615).

<sup>36</sup> Francis Bacon, *Operum Moraliū* (Londini: Richard Whitaker, 1638); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1651); Pierre Gassendi, *Opera Omnia* (Lugduni: Laurentii Anisson, 1658).

*Step-by-Step: Science and Religious Moderation, 1661–1700*

After 1661, the content and form of the Library's scientific collections changed. Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke began to create new scientific disciplines on the basis of experimentation, and English scientific scholarship, exemplified by the work of the Royal Society, came to the fore. The interest in new experimental science by Latitudinarian clergy such as Richard Johnson and Nicholas Stratford was a consequence of the religious moderation outlined in Chapter Two. Scientific endeavour was not, as Christopher Hill claimed, the preserve of the Puritans; it is now known, as Barbara Shapiro has shown, that it was connected with the 'Latitudinarian' mode of thought:

Here again the scientist and the religious moderate [were] linked by their concentration on avoiding methodologies or modes of discourse that would encourage intemperate claims and inhibit the step-by-step investigation that they saw as the central vehicle for successful scientific and religious investigation.<sup>37</sup>

Shapiro concludes that the alliance between Latitudinarianism and science was part of a search for a *via media* between scepticism and dogmatism.<sup>38</sup> As exemplars of 'Latitudinarianism', Nicholas Stratford and Richard Wroe were demonstrably opposed to dogmatism: Stratford by his administration of the Collegiate Church and his statements in *A Dissuasive from Revenge*; Wroe in his sermon on 'the beauty of unity' in 1682.<sup>39</sup> The trustees' scholarly interest in experimental scientific research was only one part of the production, distribution and reception of experimental science in this period. A method that emphasises the flexibility and reciprocity of the book trade and the materiality of scientific texts allows for a more profitable examination of the reception of experimental science at Chetham's Library.

The Library's scientific titles and other acquisitions purchased after 1661 far exceeded the needs of its immediate readership. In their intellectual range, bibliographical and technical quality (for the

<sup>37</sup> Barbara Shapiro, 'Latitudinarianism and Science in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 40 (1968), p. 34. Christopher Hill, 'Puritanism, Capitalism and the Scientific Revolution', *Past and Present*, 29 (1964), pp. 88–97.

<sup>38</sup> Barbara Shapiro, 'Latitudinarianism and Science in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 35.

<sup>39</sup> Nicholas Stratford, *A Dissuasive from Revenge* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1684); Richard Wroe, *The Beauty of Unity* (London: Benj. Tooke, 1682).



mathematical instruments), they surpassed what was available at nearly all the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. Nowhere was this sensitivity to emergent trends in scholarship and the availability of new titles in the market more clearly expressed than in the Library's acquisition of scientific titles between 1661 and 1700. The simplest measure of how these acquisitions differed between 1655 and 1661 and 1661 and 1700 is to compare and contrast some basic statistics about places and dates of publication of works of scientific scholarship. The Library was necessarily dependent upon the fruits of Continental scholarship for its earliest scientific titles. Indeed, Littlebury had been engaged as the Library's bookseller because of his expertise in the supply of Continental titles. After 1661 the character of the acquisitions was much altered as specifically 'English' experimental scientific works, written and published in England, became available after the Restoration. The origins of the scholarship in the Library by place of origin changed between 1661 and 1700. To return to Andrew Pettegree's 'steel spine' model of the book trade, Paris, Lyon and the Italian cities were the 'nodes' of scientific publication up to 1661. After 1661, they were superseded on the Continent by Amsterdam and Frankfurt and in Britain by the flourishing scientific book trade in London and Oxford.

The responsiveness of the trustees and booksellers to new works is similarly obvious in the table below. Although there were some older second-hand purchases, the majority of later scientific purchases were newly published titles:

A much larger proportion of the scientific titles published in England and acquired by the Library after 1661 were published in English, as befitted the popularity of English 'scientific' scholarship in this period. However, as scientific scholarship and the book trade transcended national boundaries, Latin remained the most popular language for scientific acquisitions as a whole.

The character of the Library's scientific acquisitions after 1661 was somewhat different from the books purchased between 1655 and 1661. At the core of these later deliveries was British scientific scholarship, written and published in English in London, Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh: the 'experimental' scientific works of Thomas Burnet, Isaac Barrow, Robert Hooke, Henry More and John Wilkins were all delivered within a year of the publication of their work. The English book trade thus played a vital role in the dissemination of scientific knowledge and gave strength to the intellectual discipline. The university towns of Oxford and Cambridge were particularly productive sites for the publication of scientific research in Latin and the vernacular.



Table 13. Percentage (%) scientific acquisitions by city of publication and period of acquisition<sup>40</sup>

| City              | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1655–1700 |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Amsterdam         | 6.39      | 8.05      | 7.51      |
| Antwerp           | 3.54      | 1.68      | 2.28      |
| Basel             | 9.22      | 3.36      | 5.24      |
| Bologna           | 9.92      | 1.00      | 3.87      |
| Cambridge         | 0.70      | 0.34      | 0.46      |
| Cologne           | 3.55      | 2.01      | 2.51      |
| Frankfurt am Main | 12.1      | 19.9      | 10.3      |
| Geneva            | 2.84      | 4.36      | 3.87      |
| Leiden            | 3.55      | 4.96      | 2.73      |
| Leipzig           | 0         | 3.02      | 2.05      |
| London            | 4.26      | 26.8      | 19.6      |
| Lyon              | 10.6      | 3.02      | 5.47      |
| Nuremberg         | 1.42      | 4.36      | 3.42      |
| Oxford            | 1.42      | 4.70      | 3.64      |
| Padua             | 0.71      | 1.34      | 1.14      |
| Paris             | 11.3      | 4.70      | 6.83      |
| Rome              | 0.71      | 3.02      | 2.28      |
| Venice            | 0.71      | 2.68      | 3.42      |

Table 14. Percentage (%) scientific acquisitions by date of publication and period of acquisition

| Date      | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1655–1700 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1500–1520 | 0         | 0.34      | 0.28      |
| 1521–1540 | 3.55      | 0.34      | 1.37      |
| 1541–1560 | 4.26      | 2.01      | 2.73      |
| 1561–1580 | 3.55      | 2.68      | 2.96      |
| 1581–1600 | 11.3      | 3.36      | 5.92      |
| 1601–1620 | 19.9      | 12.4      | 14.8      |
| 1621–1640 | 24.8      | 5.70      | 11.8      |
| 1641–1660 | 17.0      | 10.1      | 17.1      |
| 1661–1680 | N/A       | 37.9      | 25.7      |
| 1681–1700 | N/A       | 24.5      | 16.6      |

<sup>40</sup> Not all places of publication are represented here.

Table 15. Percentage (%) scientific acquisitions by language and period of acquisition

| Language        | 1655–1661 | 1661–1700 | 1655–1700 |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Latin           | 92.2      | 78.2      | 82.7      |
| English         | 2.13      | 18.8      | 14.1      |
| Greek (Ancient) | 5.67      | 1.68      | 2.96      |
| Italian         | 0         | 0.34      | 0.23      |

During the Civil War, Oxford was centre of the group that eventually became the Royal Society, and it was where many eminent scientists had studied or lived. While London was the epicentre of ‘experimental’ science, the titles published at Oxford acquired by Chetham’s Library included Robert Boyle’s *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy*, an edition of Ptolemy published at the Sheldonian Theatre and two works by Robert Plot on the natural history of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire.<sup>41</sup>

In medicine and surgery, too, English writers were increasingly obvious in the Library’s titles; Robert Boyle’s works on human physiology were acquired shortly after their publication, as were Francis Bacon’s collected works, Thomas Gibson’s *Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, John Browne’s *Myographia Nova*, Alexander Read’s *Chirurgorum Comes*, William Cowper’s *Anatomy of Humane Bodies*, and three works of physiology and pathology by Thomas Willis.<sup>42</sup> Cowper’s work was particularly striking in its connections between its intellectual and material content, as its illustrations were large enough to allow for actual scale representation of particular body parts. By merging paper and body its images self-consciously conflated book use and anatomical dissection, the materials that subtended the practices of illustration

<sup>41</sup> Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy* (Oxford: Richard Davis, 1663); Ptolemy, *Harmonikon* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1682), Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Oxford-Shire* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1677); Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Stafford-Shire* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1686).

<sup>42</sup> Francis Bacon, *Resuscitatio* (London: William Lee, 1661); Thomas Gibson, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies Epitomized* (London: Tho. Flesher, 1684); John Browne, *Myographia Nova* (London: For the author, 1697); Alexander Read, *Chirurgorum Comes* (London: Christopher Wilkinson, 1687); William Cowper, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies* (Oxford: Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1698); Thomas Willis, *Pathologiae Cerebri* (Oxonii: James Allestry, 1667).

and dissection.<sup>43</sup> Applied natural philosophy, in either mathematical or scientific knowledge, was a constituent part of the titles purchased. Works in this area included both the peaceful uses of science, such as Leybourn's *Dialling* and *The Compleat Surveyor*, and its military application, including Jonas Moore's *Modern Fortification*, Richard Elton's *Compleat Body of the Art Military*, and Andrew Snape's *Anatomy of an Horse*.<sup>44</sup> The Royal Society, the institution that gave rise to the *Philosophical Transactions*, was similarly prominent in the later acquisitions. Volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* were delivered from 1683 onwards, and a number of titles that bore the *imprimatur* of the Royal Society were delivered from the mid-1660s, including Walter Charleton's *Onomasticon Zoicon* and John Ray's *Catalogus Plantarum Angliae*.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the growing strength of English scientific scholarship, Continental scientific scholarship, new and second-hand, still played a large part in the Library's acquisitions. The major publishing houses of Continental Europe were well represented again, including a work by Bonetus published in 1684 by Chouët in Geneva ordered from Littlebury and delivered in the same year.<sup>46</sup> Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith's business relationships with these houses were an important part of the distribution and reception of early modern science in this period. Nearly all the major later seventeenth-century figures in Continental science appeared in the Library's titles. Descartes' *Epistolae* were delivered in the year of their publication in 1683,<sup>47</sup> Tycho Brahe's *Astronomiae Instauratae Progymnasmata* was delivered in 1669,<sup>48</sup> Gaspar Schott's *Magia Universalis* was delivered in 1670.<sup>49</sup> As with so many other areas of scholarship, the Jesuits made their mark. By 1661, the Library had received titles by François de Aguilón and

<sup>43</sup> *Book Use*, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> William Leybourn, *Dialling* (London: Awnsham Churchill, 1682); William Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor* (London: George Sawbridge, 1679); Jonas Moore, *Modern Fortification* (London: Nathaniel Brooke, 1673); Richard Elton, *The Compleat Body of the Art Military* (London: Henry Brome and Thomas Bassett, 1668); Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London: T. Flesher, 1683).

<sup>45</sup> Walter Charleton, *Onomasticon Zoicon* (Londini: Jacobum Allestry, 1668); John Ray, *Historia Plantarum* (London: H. Faithorne & J. Kersey, 1686).

<sup>46</sup> Théophile Bonet, *Medicina Septentrionalis Collatitia* (Genevae: Leonardi Chouët & socij, 1684).

<sup>47</sup> René Descartes, *Epistolae* (Amstelodami: Ex Typographia Blaviana, 1683).

<sup>48</sup> Tycho Brahe, *Astronomiae Instauratae Progymnasmata* (Frankfurt: apud Godefridum Tampachium, 1610).

<sup>49</sup> Gaspar Schott, *Magia Universalis* (Frankfurt: Godefridi Schönwetteri, 1657).

Christoph Clavius, while by 1700 the Library had received Francisco de Oviedo's *Cursus Philosophicus*; three volumes of scientific study from the Jesuit College in Coimbra, the *Commentariorum Collegii Conimbricensis*, came as a gift from a 'Mr Dingle' between 1674 and 1678.<sup>50</sup> In the same way that the fruits of experimental science were disseminated in England by journals such as the *Philosophical Transactions*, in 1683 the Library ordered a sequential set of the German scientific periodical, *Miscellanea Curiosa*, which had been published in Leipzig from 1670 onwards.<sup>51</sup>

Inevitably, this brief conspectus of the Library's scientific acquisitions between 1661 and 1700 cannot do justice to the full range and diversity of the titles purchased. As a sample of the variety of books acquired and the book trade activities at work they provide a body of information about how scientific texts were being produced in Britain and disseminated by the British book trade. The richness of the holdings raises questions about the need for these titles in Manchester in the later seventeenth century, and why the Library acquired them. For the history of early modern science at Chetham's Library, questions of distribution, reception and the materiality of forms of knowledge are far more significant because the answers are all the more important for the study of intellectual reception. It is to these that this chapter pays the most attention, and it now turns to intellectual and material cultures and the reciprocity in the book trade that surrounded the Library's acquisition of scientific titles between 1661 and 1700.

### *Reciprocity in the Scientific Book Trade*

The chapter returns at this point once more to the reciprocal relationship that grew up between Nicholas Stratford and Robert Littlebury. Stratford, Warden of the Collegiate Church and a Library trustee, was one of Littlebury's most valuable customers and one of his published writers. A Latitudinarian cleric with an intellectual interest in, and

<sup>50</sup> François de Aguilón, *Opticorum Libri* (Antuerpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1613); Christoph Clavius, *Opera Mathematica* (Moguntiae: Reinhardus Eltz, 1612); Colégio das Artes, *Octo Libros Physicorum Aristotelis Stagiritae* (Coloniae: Sumptibus Haeredum Lazari Zetzneri, 1616); Francisco de Oviedo, *Cursus Philosophicus* (Lugduni: Sumpt. Philippe Borde Laurentii Arnaud, 1651).

<sup>51</sup> R.J.W. Evans, 'Learned Societies in Germany in the Seventeenth Century', *European History Quarterly*, 7 (1977), p. 133.

sympathy for, the practice of experimental science, he ordered works from Littlebury throughout his time in Manchester. The relationship between Littlebury and Stratford did not flow from the metropolis to the provinces; the provinces, in the guise of Nicholas Stratford and the Library's readers, helped to shape the book trade of early modern England.

The most obvious book trade relationships in the Library's acquisition of scientific texts were the personal and professional ones built up between Nicholas Stratford and Richard Wroe in Manchester and Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith in London. A number of orders for books made by Stratford from Littlebury incorporated newly published scientific titles, particularly John Wilkins' *Essay Towards a Real Character of Language* (delivered in 1669), Nehemiah Grew's *The Anatomy of Plants*, bought within a year of publication, Thomas Burnet's *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, and from the Continent, Ismael Bouillau's *Opus Novum Ad Arithmeticae Infinitorum*, both of which were delivered in September 1684, the year in which the works were published.

Littlebury's judgment in scientific books was extremely good. It was through Littlebury that in 1669 the Library received one of the earliest copies in Britain of Basilius Besler's famous and beautiful work of botany, the *Hortus Eystettensis*, although the trustees did not record its beauty, rarity or quality, with its 366 copper engravings of plants from the garden of the Bishop of Eichstatt.<sup>52</sup> While it was the single most expensive volume purchased by the Library, it was by no means the most expensive title in the Library, as the seven volumes of the Plantin Polyglot Bible cost £20.<sup>53</sup> Like the London Polyglot Bible, the *Hortus Eystettensis* was very large (55cm x 44cm), so while the majority of the books were chained to the Library shelves, the *Hortus Eystettensis* remained unchained in what the Library shelf-list called the 'Archives'. In the 1740s, it went from there to the Gallery wing of the Library, where the shelves were large enough to accommodate it, and where it remains to this day.<sup>54</sup> There was little need for such a beautiful and rare book in Manchester; the Library's desire to acquire it says more about the trustees' commitment to the purchase of the best editions available than about their immediate interest in botany and plants.

<sup>52</sup> Basilius Besler, *Hortus Eystettensis* (Norimbergae: Ludwig Jungermann, 1613).

<sup>53</sup> Nicolas Barker, *Hortus Eystettensis: the Bishop's Garden and Besler's Magnificent Book* (London: The British Library, 1994), p. 20 n. 9.

<sup>54</sup> Accessions, f.43r.

While Littlebury's publication of Nicholas Stratford's *Sermon at the Chester Assizes* suggests a reciprocal relationship between the two men, the concept can be taken further through the correspondence between the Library and Samuel Smith. On being freed into the Stationers' Company in 1682, Smith, the apprentice of Littlebury's apprentice Moses Pitt, had entered into direct competition with Littlebury for the supply of books to the Library.<sup>55</sup> Smith was a young man at the start of his professional life, much as Littlebury had been in 1655, and he supplied books to Chetham's Library until his death in 1710. Littlebury and Smith competed with each other for the Library's custom until Littlebury's last delivery in 1692. Smith, of course, was an active importer from the Continent, as well as being, with his business partner Benjamin Walford, the 'publisher to the Royal Society'.<sup>56</sup> In November 1684, it was through orders placed with Smith by Stratford that the Library received titles of physiology and medicine by Robert Boyle, Thomas Sydenham, Thomas Gibson and Friedrich Loss, and the volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Miscellanea Curiosa*. Littlebury and Smith engaged in a dialogue with the Library's trustees that satisfied the needs and interests of the trustees, and provided the Library with the latest scholarship available as it emerged. The Library's readers were involved in the discovery and dissemination of this knowledge in the reciprocal relationship between the Library's readers and its booksellers.

The exchange of ideas between London and Manchester had been initially characterised by the dispatch of books by Littlebury and Smith to the Library. It was continued by the reciprocal relationship between Samuel Smith, Charles Leigh (one of the Library's readers) and the Royal Society in London. Charles Leigh (1662–1701) was born in Lancashire and educated, like Richard Johnson, at Brasenose College Oxford, where he graduated BA in 1683. He went from there to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he graduated MD in 1690.<sup>57</sup> After a time in medical practice in London, Leigh returned to Manchester, where he built up an extensive practice throughout Lancashire. In 1685, he was elected a corresponding Fellow of the Royal Society. He was a genuinely 'provincial' fellow of the Society, as the most he hoped to do was correspond with the Society and 'to the Utmost of my capacity give you an account

<sup>55</sup> Invoice Book, 29 May 1683, f. 40r.

<sup>56</sup> Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford, *Catalogus Librorum Domi Forisque Impressorum*.

<sup>57</sup> C. W. Sutton, 'Leigh, Charles (1662–1701?)', *ODNB*.

of the Naturall Curiosities here'.<sup>58</sup> He corresponded with the Society on a number of occasions, and had some of his papers that were read before the Society printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*.<sup>59</sup>

Leigh was a reader at Chetham's Library, although there is no record of what he read or what he made of the books he read at the Library. He was a supporter of the Library, and donated his own scientific works to the collections, including his 1694 work *Phthisiologia Lancastriensis* and the 1697 *Exercitationes Quinque*.<sup>60</sup> *Phthisiologia Lancastriensis*, a study of lung disease in the north-west, had been published in London by Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford, while *Exercitationes Quinque* was published jointly by Leonard Lichfield in Oxford and Ephraim Johnson in Manchester. Scientific endeavour went in two directions, from London to Manchester and back again, as Stratford and Leigh demonstrate the reciprocity of the trade between booksellers and readers. Furthermore, Leigh's activities as a scientific writer extend this reciprocity into the scientific endeavour of the later seventeenth century. That a Manchester bookseller (and supplier to Chetham's Library) was involved in the publication of a scientific title shows how much progress the Manchester book trade had made since 1655, and how the book trade played an important and reciprocal part in the formation and dissemination of scientific knowledge.

### *The Problems of Scientific Reception*

The scientific titles supplied to Chetham's Library were complex and difficult to understand. Of course, there were many equally sophisticated works of history and theology in the Library that were read and understood by seventeenth-century readers. There was certainly an interest in scientific scholarship and in experimental science at Chetham's Library, as evidenced by university curricula, the activities of Nicholas Stratford and Richard Wroe and the donation by 'Richard Johnson, Apothecary' in 1698 of the astronomical manuscript 'De situ universorum'. Yet serious limits have to be imposed on the extent to

<sup>58</sup> Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and Its Fellows, 1660–1700* (Stanford in the Vale: British Society for the History of Science, 1994), p. 115.

<sup>59</sup> Charles Leigh, 'A Letter from Mr. Charles Leigh of Brazen-Nose College in Oxford', *Philosophical Transactions*, 14 (1684), pp. 609–19.

<sup>60</sup> Charles Leigh, *Phthisiologia Lancastriensis* (Londini: Samuel Smith & Benjamin Walford, 1694); 2418 Charles Leigh, *Exercitationes Quinque* (Oxonii: Thomas Bennet & Ephraim Johnson, 1697).

which the presence of scientific titles and objects in the Library represented the positive reception of scientific ideas in seventeenth-century Manchester. Many scientific titles were works of reference to be consulted and dipped into according to the reader's needs and interest, acquired to serve the perceived future needs of readers at the Library, or purchased to fulfil Humphrey Chetham's scholarly ambitions for the town in the provision of a universality of knowledge.<sup>61</sup>

The coverage of scientific scholarship at Chetham's Library was not comprehensive. There are a number of titles missing from the Library that were expected to be part of a large library's scientific holdings in the seventeenth century, including Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist*, Steno on fossils, Huygens on the pendulum clock and Leibniz on calculus.<sup>62</sup> Although Trinity College in Cambridge did not have many of the titles listed above in its collections by 1700,<sup>63</sup> given the quality of the holdings at Chetham's Library in scientific fields, it is surprising to note such absences in Manchester. Moreover, the missing titles are those that could have been picked up by Robert Littlebury, Isaac Littlebury or Samuel Smith in the course of their trade with the Continent in the later seventeenth century. Steno's works were published in Italy in the late 1660s and early 1670s, a period in which a 'Mr Littlebury' had been to Italy to acquire books; Isaac Littlebury was in Paris and elsewhere in France with the explicit purpose of buying books in the early 1670s, the period in which Huygens' work on pendulum clocks and a number of other influential scientific texts were published in Paris. The trustees did not notice the absence of such titles, and the booksellers did not supply them, presumably because the Library trustees did not order copies of the titles. These absences demonstrate that there were real limits to the trustees' knowledge of scientific scholarship, as there were works that they did not know and did not order. The Library bought scientific titles in the interests of providing them rather than because they knew they had an immediate readership in Manchester.

Nicholas Stratford's acquisition of scientific titles through the London book trade is problematic for the study of the reception of

<sup>61</sup> Stephen Orgel, 'Afterword', p. 285.

<sup>62</sup> Robert Boyle, *The Sceptical Chymist* (London: J. Crooke, 1661); Nicolaus Steno, *De Solido Intra Solidum* (Florentiae: sub signo Stellae, 1669); Christiaan Huygens, *Horologium Oscillatorium* (Parisiis: F. Muguet ... 1673); Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, 'Nova Methodus Pro Maximis Et Minimis', *Acta Eruditorum*, 3 (1684), pp. 467–73.

<sup>63</sup> *Trinity College*, p. 130.



scientific texts at Chetham's Library. Libraries have always been moulded by the tastes of the librarians responsible for accessions. In the eighteenth century, Chetham's Library acquired a large number of Sanskrit titles because the Librarian, John Haddon Hindley, was an Oriental scholar who wanted to read books in Sanskrit.<sup>64</sup> The issue remains that it is difficult to tell where the Library's scientific acquisitions stopped being the best editions of new and old scholarship available and become reflections of Stratford's own personal whims and tastes. This personal form of book acquisition was quite common; in the 1660s, John Tilsley and James Chetham had ordered individual titles that they particularly wanted to read from the booksellers Mordechai Moxon and John Starkey. With acquisitions made for his own interests, Stratford, the urbane, learned cleric, helped to turn the Library's collections from a set of classic scientific texts into a highly impressive and extensive set of titles that exceeded the capacities of the local readership but that the other trustees were prepared to accept in the interests of long-term scholarship and reference.

Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith engaged in the disposal of unmarketable or unsold books in other areas, so it is quite probable that this practice extended into scientific titles. Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, delivered by Samuel Smith in November 1690, is a prime candidate for such status, as it raises a number of important issues about readership and reception at the Library.<sup>65</sup> Despite its fame and status as one of the classic works of science, Newton's *magnum opus* had a troubled early history. After its publication in 1687, it was omitted from the *Term Catalogues*, and it did not sell well.<sup>66</sup> In order to rid himself of some of the many unsold copies, Newton resorted to the donation of copies to university and college libraries, including Trinity College Cambridge.<sup>67</sup> The year in which Chetham's Library received its copy is highly significant. Despite the work's obvious prestige and fame, the Library did not receive a copy until 1690, some three years after the *Principia* emerged. It was the year in which Newton 'made over a portion of the edition' of the *Principia* to Samuel Smith who supplied it to Chetham's Library. While a delay of three years between publication

<sup>64</sup> C. W. Sutton, 'Hindley, John Haddon (1765–1827)', *ODNB*.

<sup>65</sup> Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (Londini: Josephi Streater, 1687).

<sup>66</sup> A. N. L. Munby, 'The Distribution of the First Edition of Newton's *Principia*', p. 32.

<sup>67</sup> *Trinity College*, p. 131.

and acquisition was perfectly acceptable for a new work published on the Continent, the Library received a number of works published in London in the year of publication. A delay of three years for the *Principia* suggests that Samuel Smith despatched it to rid himself of another copy of another unmarketable and difficult text. In his work on the early history of the *Principia*, A.N.L. Munby contended that the copies of the *Principia* that went to Smith were exported abroad, and while this was the case for the majority of the copies, it is probable that the *Principia* sent to the Library in November 1690 was dispatched to Manchester by Smith to rid himself of it.<sup>68</sup>

The trustees accepted the delayed copy of the *Principia* from Smith, unlike other titles that, some years earlier, Smith had picked up in Oxford and tried to pass on to them, including a 1685 edition of James Cooke's *Marrow of Surgery*, and the newly published alchemical text *Collectanea Chymica Leidensia*.<sup>69</sup> The trustees had resisted these titles from Smith, so they obviously exercised some judgement as what went into the Library. Despite its delayed arrival and difficult reception history, the acceptance of the *Principia* presumably owed much to the trustees' sense that an institution such as Chetham's Library should own a copy not just for immediate reading, but for later readers and the encouragement of scholarly learning in Manchester. Moreover, the acquisition of the *Principia* raises the question of *how* it was read once it was placed on the shelves. The *Principia* was not a book for reading from cover to cover, but rather one to be consulted as a work of scholarship and reference that outlasted the immediate seventeenth-century context, as John Dalton's use of the work demonstrated.<sup>70</sup> In the eighteenth century, the Cumbrian chemist and philosopher John Dalton was drawn to live and work in Manchester precisely because Chetham's Library had a copy of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* and a first edition of Robert Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist*. As Dalton noted wryly when he arrived in Manchester from Kendal in 1794,

There is in this town a large library furnished with the best books in every art, science, and language, which is open to all, gratis; when thou

<sup>68</sup> A. N. L. Munby, 'The Distribution of the First Edition of Newton's *Principia*', p. 33.

<sup>69</sup> Invoices, 4 April 1685, f. 52v. James Cooke, *Mellificium Chirurgiae* (London: William Marshall, 1685), and Christopher Love Morley, *Collectanea Chymica Leydensia* (Lugduni Batavorum: J.A. de la Font, 1684).

<sup>70</sup> Frank Greenaway, 'Dalton, John (1766–1844)', *ODNB*.

art apprised of this...thou wilt be able to form an opinion whether I spend my time in slothful inactivity.

One of the other books that enticed Dalton, Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist*, was in fact one of the most striking absences from the Library's seventeenth-century acquisitions, as it was acquired by the Library in the eighteenth century.<sup>71</sup> This absence is in itself a lesson to students of historical textual reception. The works today regarded as intellectually significant or influential were not necessarily regarded as such at the time of acquisition.

Humphrey Chetham's will had stated that a public library should be erected in perpetuity. The fact of having a copy of the *Principia*, in spite of its complexity and troubled early history, was part of the trustees' commitment to this longer-term scholarly ambition for preservation. The questions of readership and acquisition in the advancement of learning, and the absences from the holdings in Manchester, add a further dimension to the multiplicity of reasons for (and qualifications at work in) studying the reception of scientific texts in the early modern period.

The evidence of the Library's scientific titles has opened up the study of the seventeenth-century book trade and its relationship with early modern science in ways considerably more productive than suggested by previous studies. The Library's scientific purchases underline the importance of the material forms such knowledge took. The next section addresses how the bibliographic and material forms of the Library's acquisition of scientific books and instruments undermined the goals of seventeenth-century scientific experiment.

### *Scientific Instruments and Differing Forms of Natural Philosophy*

'A science known not only in gross, but also by retail  
and parcels'<sup>72</sup>

Henry Oldenburg, secretary of the Royal Society, was certainly sensitive to the material forms taken by the knowledge discovered and popularised by the Society. The physical format of the scientific titles in

<sup>71</sup> Robert Boyle, *The Sceptical Chymist* (London: J. Crooke, 1661).

<sup>72</sup> Henry Oldenburg to Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), Vol. 1, p. 211.

Chetham's Library and the Library's acquisition of globes and mathematical instruments shaped, and were shaped by, the intellectual content of the works acquired. As demonstrated at Chetham's Library, this process was problematic, not least in the reception of scientific books and instruments.

The success of experimental science in the early modern period owed much to the printing press. This was because of the printed format in which these experimental discoveries were disseminated; they could thereby be replicated, or at least tested, by readers to confirm or not the findings reported. Scientific books contained diagrams that provided crucial visual data that text alone did not. In the depiction of prior or idealised scenes of scientific practice, such images functioned as a substitute for practice. The reader's movement back and forth between picture and text as 'mutually informing technologies of representation' remade scientific practice as a textual practice.<sup>73</sup> Mathematical instruments, microscopes and telescopes were, along with scientific titles, an essential part of any later seventeenth-century library, and the Library trustees were well aware of this need. At a theoretical level, the *Philosophical Transactions* and Hooke's *Micrographia* transmitted technology such as the invention of the microscope to supply the demand they helped to nourish, so the works advertised the sale of mathematical instruments in their pages. Ross Parry noted that,

[a]s much as the objects endorsed and advertised the knowledge within the books, so the books provided the evidence, rationales contexts and interpretations for the objects.<sup>74</sup>

Material evidence was intended to support the conclusions of the printed books, and the printed word was intended to popularise and sell mathematical instruments to institutions such as Chetham's Library. At a material level, the *Philosophical Transactions* was a journal issued on a regular basis, its credibility assured by the *imprimatur* of the Royal Society. The pages of the *Transactions* were filled with brief papers, reports and letters that pertained to scientists' findings intended to be discussed by groups of readers in Britain and Europe. While Chetham's Library acquired some large scientific titles such as the *Principia Mathematica*, journals such as the *Philosophical*

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<sup>73</sup> *Book Use*, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> Ross Parry, *Recoding the Museum: Digital Heritage and the Technologies of Change* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 33.

*Transactions* and the *Miscellanea Curiosa* were small-format works that materially reflected the processes of incremental research, debate and refinement of methods at work in science in this period.<sup>75</sup>

It is true that the material format of the journal was intended to match the intellectual and incremental processes at work in experimental science, but this was not the case at Chetham's Library. For most institutions, a subscription to the *Philosophical Transactions* was supposed to ensure that copies of the journal were dispatched on a regular and frequent basis to subscribers and libraries. This pattern was matched by the Continental scientific journals, including the *Acta Eruditorum*. But Chetham's Library had no such subscription, and the *Transactions* were not delivered to the Library on such a basis from 1665 onwards. Far from it. The *Transactions*, volumes of the *Miscellanea Curiosa* and volumes of the *Acta Eruditorum* came as sets from Samuel Smith, Robert Littlebury and Ephraim Johnston in the latter part of the century. Chetham's Library was not alone in the receipt of titles in this way; a number of other institutions and personal collectors acquired copies of the *Philosophical Transactions* as sets of volumes rather than incrementally. How effectively the materiality of the text and reading in libraries mimicked the operation of early modern science remains open to question.<sup>76</sup> The conditions of acquisition of books and other items are crucial to the history of textual and intellectual reception, but are so frequently overlooked. The Library's scientific acquisitions, particularly in respect of the scientific journal, suggest that some of the long-held assumptions about the history of scientific reception in the seventeenth century need to be revised in light of the conditions of acquisition.

Another way to question these assumptions is to examine the problematic reception of scientific ideas at Chetham's Library that was continued by the acquisition of mathematical and scientific instruments, globes and other museum curiosities. In the Library's first stock-take in April 1685, the trustees recorded two globes, three maps and a ruling pen; Robert Littlebury had delivered the globes and maps in April 1658 at a cost of £16 for the globes and £2 3s. 6d. for the maps.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 63.

<sup>76</sup> For example, Trinity College Library in Cambridge had no copies of the *Philosophical Transactions* until Vols. I–XIX (1665–1676) were donated as a set by Thomas Kirke in the late 1670s. *Trinity College Library*, p. 131 n. 7.

<sup>77</sup> By way of comparison, in 1679 Joseph Moxon's prices for globes ranged from £1 10s. for a 6 inch diameter globes, to £4 for one of 20 inches, and £20 for a pair of

More curiously, the Library received a snakeskin from Mr Alexander Davy, although the date of donation is unclear. The Library received a 'pendulum watch with a thermometer and barometer' from Nicholas Clegg, a former pupil of the Hospital, and in 1697, 'A Skeleton of a Woman, with severall other Curiosities' from Ralph Assheton. William Crashawe had donated two very valuable (and famous) globes, known as the Molyneux Globes, to the Middle Temple in the early part of the century; they were described by Crashawe himself as 'one of the fairest paire of globes in England'.<sup>78</sup> Richard Johnson, who knew the Middle Temple Library well and presumably saw Crashawe's donation, understood that globes (although perhaps ones less valuable than the Molyneux set) were an important addition to the Library's holdings.<sup>79</sup> Chetham's Library was similar to Oxford or Cambridge college libraries; by 1703, the Library at Trinity College Cambridge housed a number of scientific instruments, including two telescopes, a microscope, prisms, numerous dials and angle-measuring instruments and a plane table.<sup>80</sup> The Library's purchase of 'mathematicall instruments' was the subject of one of the most informative letters written by Littlebury to the trustees, referring as it did to the delivery of the Greek Orthodox liturgies and to the 'spheares', that 'may be exact, and to [the instrument-maker's] Credit'. In the same letter, Littlebury suggested that the spheres could be 'viewed by one of the ablest persons in England'. Although difficult to prove conclusively, it is possible that Littlebury referred here to Robert Hooke, who was a regular customer at Littlebury's shop in the mid-1670s, and who met other famous book collectors there. Many London tradesmen and professionals had sought Hooke's advice on a number of different matters, and Littlebury was well placed to seek his advice.<sup>81</sup> Of course, Littlebury avoided a direct reference to Hooke himself, possibly to avoid promising something he could not achieve, but such a relationship between the two men was at least possible, given Littlebury's role as one of Hooke's booksellers.

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26 inches diameter. Cf final seven pages of Joseph Moxon, *Mathematicks Made Easie* (London: Joseph Moxon, 1679).

<sup>78</sup> R. M. Fisher, 'William Crashawe and the Middle Temple Globes 1605–15', *The Geographical Journal*, 140 (1974), p. 105.

<sup>79</sup> R. M. Fisher, 'William Crashawe's Library at the Temple 1605–1615', *The Library*, (1975), p. 120.

<sup>80</sup> *Trinity College*, p. 122.

<sup>81</sup> Rob Iliffe, 'Material Doubts: Hooke, Artisan Culture and the Exchange of Information in 1670s London', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 28 (1995), p. 297.

Although the Library did not purchase instruments through Littlebury in the 1670s, in 1686 it received instruments to the value of £3 19s. from 'Mr Yarwell by order of Dr Wroe', including a telescope, a microscope, a speaking trumpet, a concave looking glass, a prism and a 'multiplying [magnifying] glass'. The trade in technically advanced telescopes centred on St Paul's Churchyard and Covent Garden, and Yarwell sold microscopes and telescopes at 'The Archimedes and Spectacles' in St Paul's Churchyard.<sup>82</sup> Robert Hooke visited John Yarwell's shop in the mid-1670s; by 1684 Yarwell was the Master of the Spectacle Makers' Company, and received a royal appointment from William III in 1690.<sup>83</sup> That Richard Wroe ordered instruments from a London manufacturer as significant as Yarwell demonstrates once more the lengths to which the trustees were prepared to go to supply the Library. But Yarwell's supply of instruments was part of a more complex and self-reinforcing pattern that included the reception, distribution and acquisition of books and other items.

The problem with the mathematical instruments is that their purpose at Chetham's Library is unclear, and the history of their use is vague. The trustees were well aware that other institutions owned similar instruments and curiosities, and that therefore the Library should purchase such instruments, but other than matching the collections of libraries such as that of Trinity College Cambridge, it is not known (nor can it ever be known) whether the instruments purchased were ever actually used for the purposes of experimentation and research.<sup>84</sup> Celia Fiennes noted in 1698 that

There is a large Library 2 long walls full of books on each side there is alsoe a long whispering trumpet and there I saw the skinn of the Rattle Snake 6 foote long, with many other Curiositys, their anatomy of a man wired together, a jaw of a sherk.<sup>85</sup>

While the Library's 1685 stock-take and Celia Fiennes noted two globes and the snakeskin, the mathematical instruments do not appear in the

<sup>82</sup> R. S. Whipple, 'John Yarwell, or the Story of a Trade Card', *Annals of Science*, 7 (1951), p. 64.

<sup>83</sup> Hooke, 3 January 1676. Gloria Clifton, 'The Spectacle-Makers' Company and the Origins of the Scientific Instrument-Making Trade in London', in R.G.W. Bennett (ed.), *Making Instruments Count* (Aldershot: Variorum 1993), p. 357.

<sup>84</sup> By way of comparison, the Bodleian Library in Oxford possessed a crocodile skin; Chetham's Library was given an alligator's skin in 1702.

<sup>85</sup> Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London: Cresset Press, 1947), p. 223.



later Library shelf lists, produced in around 1698, which suggests that they were either not in use or had been lost from the Library. This was very different from the Bodleian Library in Oxford, where books and instruments formed part of Thomas James' collaborative knowledge factory, or John Dee's library in Mortlake, which had a stream of scholars and statesman taking advantage of its books and resources. There was a similarly fraught relationship between scientific books and instruments in the library of Trinity College Dublin. Despite the emphasis placed on experimentation by the Dublin Philosophical Society, there is no evidence that students ever used the expensive instruments in the seventeenth century.<sup>86</sup> The donation of scientific materials to the Library, including the pendulum watch, barometer and skeleton, tell us more about the readers and donors at Chetham's Library than they do about the reception and employment of scientific ideas in the later seventeenth century. The donation of the skeleton along with the snakeskin and other curiosities raises a problem inherent in the word used by both the Library trustees and Celia Fiennes to describe them: 'curiosities'.<sup>87</sup> The term was a very common one to describe personal collections of natural history oddments such as rocks, shells and skeletons. The Library's collection of instruments and other objects were of little value or use to the Library's readers and trustees, and were, as Philip Gaskell described the holdings at Trinity Library, 'most of them wonderful rather than soberly instructive'.<sup>88</sup>

Only in the eighteenth century did libraries such as Trinity College house collections of instruments and specimens that were useful and of value for research and collaborative experimentation. Chetham's Library continued to receive scientific instruments and curiosities well into the eighteenth century, but its seventeenth century acquisitions, while they matched the holdings of other institutions, need to be qualified in intellectual and material terms as objects of scientific endeavour. The trustees felt that the Library should own scientific periodicals and mathematical instruments, even if the reception of scientific ideas in Manchester was in some way undermined by the conditions of their

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<sup>86</sup> K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Common Scientist in the Seventeenth Century: a Study of the Dublin Philosophical Society, 1683–1708* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 75–9, 133.

<sup>87</sup> O. R. Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums: the Cabinet of Curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>88</sup> *Trinity College*, p. 121.



delivery and reception at the Library. As Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker point out, 'the material text [is] open to all of the exigencies within, and dislocations of, a market society': the way in which the scientific journals to Chetham's Library delivered undermined the mode of reception.<sup>89</sup> The claim that the materiality of the printed text was an intrinsic part of the dissemination of experimental scientific knowledge in the seventeenth century, and that instruments played a reinforcing role in this dissemination needs to be qualified with an acknowledgment of how these texts and instruments were in fact used (or not used) and received by Library readers.

### *Scientific Books outside the Stationers' Company*

The trade in new and second-hand books was not the exclusive preserve of the Stationers' Company, but rather involved a mixture of guilds including the Haberdashers, of which Robert Littlebury was a leading member, and into which Samuel Smith was apprenticed in 1675. The importance in early modern science of members of companies other than the Stationers' Company needs to be underlined. This is necessary to situate Robert Littlebury and Chetham's Library in the history of the distribution and reception of scientific texts, and to correct the narrowly Anglocentric and 'Stationer-centric' analysis of scientific endeavour and print culture in the seventeenth century.

Members of the Haberdashers' Company like Littlebury were at the epicentre of the scientific book trade as new and second-hand booksellers; Littlebury supplied Robert Hooke and possibly sought Hooke's advice on mathematical instruments for Chetham's Library. Littlebury was involved in scientific publication, and had shares in editions of Marcello Malpighi's *Opera Omnia* and Pierre Nicole's *Logica*; the 'Continental' implications of these publications will be considered later in this chapter.<sup>90</sup> The role of those outside the Stationers' Company in scientific publishing and bookselling is emphasised by the place of Littlebury, Moses Pitt and Samuel Smith in the book trade at this time. Littlebury never transferred his freedom from the Haberdashers'

<sup>89</sup> Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (as eds), 'Introduction: Discovering the Renaissance Reader', *Reading, Society, and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 24–25.

<sup>90</sup> Marcello Malpighi, *Operum Tomus Secundus* (Londini: Robert Littlebury *et al.*, 1686); Pierre Nicole, *Logica* (Londini: Impensis R. Littlebury, 1682).

Company to the Stationers' Company; when Littlebury's apprentice Moses Pitt took his freedom in 1661, Pitt transferred to the Stationers' Company. Pitt's own apprentice, Samuel Smith, printer to the Royal Society and Charles Leigh's publisher, was initially apprenticed in 1675 to the Stationer Samuel Gellibrand, but was immediately 'turned over' to the Haberdasher Pitt.<sup>91</sup> Johns is right to claim that science publication in the seventeenth century ran in dynastic (family and non-family) lines. Littlebury was the *paterfamilias* of a line of scientific publishers and booksellers. The relations were more nuanced than the suggestion that booksellers operated simply within the confines of the Stationers' Company.<sup>92</sup> As the activities of Littlebury, Pitt and Smith show, the publication and sale of scientific texts, new and second-hand, occurred well beyond the bounds of the Stationers' Company, and in the publication of scientific texts, the 'monopolistic' Stationers were far from the monolith assumed and described by Johns and other writers on the scientific book trade.

The importance of Continental scholarship and the Continental book trade described here reconfigures Adrian Johns' and Elizabeth Eisenstein's characterisations of the scientific book trade in this period. Both Littlebury and Smith imported large numbers of works from the Continent; Littlebury delivered scientific works published by Dutch and Swiss booksellers with whom he corresponded, including Elsevier and Wetstein in Amsterdam. Samuel Smith corresponded with Janssonius van Waesberge on a number of occasions in the late 1680s and early 1690s, and delivered newly-published scientific works from the Waesberge house, including Theodoor Jansson ab Almelooven's *Inventa Nov-Antiqua*, which was delivered to the Library in 1684, the year of its publication.<sup>93</sup>

There is one last aspect that needs to be written into the history of the scientific book trade in this period: the reciprocal relations between London and the Continent and the place of those outside the Stationers' Company. The best example of this is Littlebury's involvement in the publication of Marcello Malpighi's *Opera Omnia* in 1687. Malpighi (1628–1694) was an Italian physician and biologist who, in the development of experimental methods to study living things,

<sup>91</sup> Marja Smolenaars and Ann Veenhoff, 'Smith, Samuel (bap. 1658, d. 1707)'.

<sup>92</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 115.

<sup>93</sup> Theodoor Jansson ab Almelooven, *Inventa Nov-Antiqua* (Amstelaedami: Janssonio-Waesbergios., 1684).

founded the science of microscopic anatomy. As Professor of Medicine at Messina, Malpighi attracted the attention of the Royal Society in London, and in 1668, was extended an invitation by its secretary, Henry Oldenburg, to correspond with the Royal Society. His work was thereafter published periodically in the form of letters in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and in 1669 Malpighi was named an honorary member of the Society, the first such recognition given to an Italian.<sup>94</sup> Thereafter, all of Malpighi's works were published in London, and although Littlebury was not involved in the particular edition supplied to Chetham's Library, he was involved in the publication of two separate editions of Malpighi's work in 1686 and 1687. The title pages of Malpighi's work acknowledged the activities of the Royal Society; in taking advantage of the Society's copyright powers to publish and disseminate his works, Malpighi used an institution whose powers for the creation and distribution of books lay in privileges and licensing.

Littlebury's involvement in the publication of Malpighi marked a transition from British dependence on Continental scholarship to the supply of books from Britain to the Continent. It provides an important example of how the British scientific book trade existed outside the traditional cartel of the Stationers' Company and Britain itself, and how it had an impact on Continental thought. The scientific book trade, in the form of Chetham's Library, Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith, was more flexible, more dynamic and more Continental in outlook than either Elizabeth Eisenstein or Adrian Johns has acknowledged. The relationship between the British scientific book trade and the Continent was reciprocal; Littlebury, as well as buying books from publishers in the Low Countries, published and disseminated copies of Malpighi's work back on to the Continent, thereby extending the reciprocal element of the history of the book into an international dimension.

### *Science, Book and Scientific Instrument*

This chapter has been an ambitious one, and, in its combination of the study of textual distribution and reception, is the logical and intellectual conclusion of the previous chapters. Its findings fall into three categories: evidence about the collections at Chetham's Library;

<sup>94</sup> Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and Its Fellows*, p. 120.

evidence about the study of the scientific book trade in the early modern period; and once more, a qualification of textual reception drawn from the need to incorporate an acknowledgement of the conditions of distribution and reception into the history of intellectual reception.

The Library's scientific acquisitions were very impressive, and surpassed those of many other comparable institutions in the British Isles. They were considerably more than a collection of classic works, comprising as they did the latest and most innovative works, acquired in the best editions available and within a short time of their availability through the trade. The Library's scientific books were some of its newest titles, as the tables at the beginning of the chapter demonstrated. The 'mathematicall instruments', produced as they were by the instrument maker with a royal appointment, were of the highest quality, and Library paid similar prices for its books as other individuals and institutions. As with the other subject areas, the scientific titles show the transition from dependence upon Continental scholarship to a native, British scholarship and the British book trade that was involved in a reciprocal exchange of books and ideas with the Continent. The Library's relationships with the London book open up a number of new opportunities and ways of thinking about early modern science and its relationship with print culture. As the work of Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith demonstrates, the history of the scientific book trade in later seventeenth-century England was international, flexible and reciprocal in scope, and certainly not the sole preserve of the Haberdashers' Company. Indeed, as Smith's transfer from Gellibrand to Moses Pitt shows, those bound into the Stationers' Company actually served their apprenticeship in the Haberdashers' Company. Nicholas Stratford and Charles Leigh's relationships with the London book trade were more complicated than the simple transmission of ideas from London to Manchester, and Littlebury showed how Continental scientists took advantage of the British book trade to publish their works: the study of the book trade and the study of textual reception should acknowledge this. The materiality of the text and the object, particularly in the history of science, remains a vitally important – but under-explored – part of the reception of ideas in early modern Britain, as the journal format of the *Philosophical Transactions* and the acquisition of a set of instruments from Mr Yarwell demonstrated.

For all of the apparently successful dissemination of scientific ideas in Manchester and the provinces, there remain some important qualifications. The Library's scientific books and other items were not necessarily all acquired for the same reason of scientific interest and enthusiasm, or indeed read in the same spirit. Individuals acquired titles for the Library according to their own tastes and interests. Nicholas Stratford's interest in experimental science and personal orders brought more scientific titles into the Library than expected. Moreover, the acquisition of scientific texts for reference purposes and the future must be added to the analysis of scientific textual reception. On the trade side, while Robert Littlebury and Samuel Smith's respective activities as booksellers undoubtedly led to some stock dispersal and the passing on of unprofitable and unreadable material, these were works which the trustees accepted in the interests of future preservation.

Even when titles or other items reached Chetham's Library, there was no guarantee that they were read or understood. It remains difficult for historians to study how the books were read, and the conditions of reception undermined the medium by which information about scientific experiments were disseminated. Similarly, there is no way of knowing whether the Library's expensively acquired collection of mathematical instruments and globes were ever used at the time for purposes for which they were manufactured. They may simply have been regarded as objects that the Library was expected to own if it had serious scholarly ambitions and a desire to preserve the best of available scholarship. An acknowledgement of the intentions of the trustees, the conditions of acquisition of books in the Library needs to be incorporated into its history in order to limit the extent to which its scientific titles could be used to read too much about the history of ideas in this period.

Chetham's Library's excellent collection of scientific books and instruments is a mixture of many competing factors and qualifications. The best way to examine the processes at work in these acquisitions is to emphasise the flexibility, dynamism and reciprocity of the book trade, the materiality of the Library's collections and the dangers of inferring too much about textual reception from the presence or absence of a particular title, set of titles or object in the collections. These three interconnected themes have been the foundations of a study of bookselling outside the boundaries imposed on the scientific

book trade by commentators such as Adrian Johns and Elizabeth Eisenstein. This chapter has acknowledged the importance of the materiality and employment of a text (or other item) in the history of its distribution and reception. As this chapter comes to a close, attention turns to the Conclusion, and with it, a review of the fruits of such analysis, and ways to revise and refine the approach it suggests.

## CONCLUSION

### READING HAS A HISTORY

For books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie  
of life in them to be as active as the soule was whose  
progeny they are.

Although John Milton's only appearance in Chetham's Library during the seventeenth century was a copy of *A History of Britain*, his tract on censorship, *Areopagitica* (1644), captures exactly how books fall into so many intellectual, material and readerly categories.<sup>1</sup> The Library's three thousand acquisitions between 1655 and 1700 raise many different but interconnected issues. They range from the selection of books for the Library to increasingly complex arguments about the book trade and the textual reception in the early modern period, on to how historians of the book should link the trade in new and second-hand books, and finally, a consideration of how historians should think about libraries more generally in the early modern period.

It is useful to return to the warning made by Robert Darnton, nearly twenty-five years ago, that the emergent discipline known as the 'history of the book' was put at risk by a sense of 'interdisciplinarity run riot'.<sup>2</sup> This book has to some extent sought to distance itself from identification solely with the field of book history. Books need greater integration into a number of other intellectual disciplines rather than a scholarly niche of their own because they offer more than initially meets the eye. The historical evidence they evince brings out a number of different, and increasingly complex, questions about intellectual reception, textual use, the material forms of texts and the trade in ideas in any historical periods. Working outwards from holding a printed book in our hands, they illuminate a large number of different (but interconnected) issues surrounding, *inter alia*, intellectual and material cultures, readership, censorship, prices and gender. The printed

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<sup>1</sup> John Milton, *Areopagitica a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Vnlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of England* (London: n.p., 1644), sig. A3v.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', p. 10.

text, plot or story of a book is only one part of its importance, its history and its relevance today.

Such qualification of the extent to which this book can be assimilated to 'the history of the book' runs against the flow of current thought in the discipline, which constantly presses for greater recognition among professional organisations of book history as a scholarly exercise. Peter D. McDonald, whose frustration with debates about the discipline culminated in his claim that 'Book history is an interdisciplinary method of inquiry, not a discipline, an intersection, not a place,' has argued that to reify the discipline is to fall into the trap of being intellectually modish.<sup>3</sup> The way to protect the discipline against the ebbs and flows of academic fashion, he suggests, is to integrate the study of the material forms of texts and their reception into other scholarly activities. In this respect, McDonald is right to fight to preserve the importance of the study of the material forms of books and reading for the future, but the approach employed in this study deviates from McDonald at that point. The difference is subtle, but is a consequence of the way in which McDonald's atheoretical eclecticism has been reified into 'thinking book-historically', and then appropriated as a method to undertake book history. McDonald's approach is in many respects centripetal; a number of different intellectual, material and readership factors have an impact on books. This book has been more centrifugal in approach. Working outwards from the material text and its content, books illuminate a large number of different (but interconnected) issues surrounding intellectual cultures, material cultures, readership and their interpretative problems. The approach it has taken has proved fruitful in its examination of the issues considered throughout the book, particularly in its emphasis on the connections between the distribution, reception and readership at Chetham's Library.

The trade in new and second-hand books was extensive, vibrant and immensely profitable in the seventeenth century, in ways that have received little or no scholarly attention. Robert Littlebury made a very good living from the trade, as his estate and property showed. Littlebury and Samuel Smith's supply of books to Chetham's Library throughout the seventeenth century provides a great deal of new evidence for such study, most notably on issues surrounding the ways by which books entered the second-hand trade, the profit margin on new and second-hand books, the condition of their bindings when they were acquired,

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<sup>3</sup> Peter D. McDonald, 'Book History and Discipline Envy', p. 73.



and the impact of the Great Fire of London in 1666 on the dynamics of the book trade around St Paul's Churchyard. Littlebury's and Smith's business with Chetham's Library places the early modern British book trade outside the presumed 'cartel' of the Stationers' Company, and instead includes the sale of books carried out by members of other livery companies, including, the Haberdashers' Company, of which Littlebury was a senior official. Furthermore, the trade in books and ideas was resolutely transnational, as the Library's reliance on new and older Continental material demonstrated, and as Littlebury and Smith's 'Latin trade' exemplifies. Although massive multi-author efforts like the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* are remarkably useful, there is a danger that 'national histories of the book' projects in Europe, America and Australasia can lead to an unwarrantedly narrow 'national' reading of an activity that was and is international in scope and interest.<sup>4</sup>

How Chetham's Library was brought into being illuminates the relationships and dynamics at work in the early modern book trade. The lessons drawn here can be used in further explorations of the distribution and reception of texts in the early modern period. First, the book trade helped to make and shape intellectual endeavour throughout the seventeenth century, ranging from the subscription publication of Bibles and works of history and classics to the employment of different formats for the dissemination of scientific knowledge through journals. Second, the relationships between booksellers and bookbuyers were in fact reciprocal interactions, as the publication by Robert Littlebury of works by Nicholas Stratford, and by Samuel Smith of works by Charles Leigh demonstrated: indeed, as Littlebury showed in his publication of work by Malpighi, provincial-metropolitan reciprocity was matched by a growing international reciprocity between London and the Continent. Third, the study of the trade in books and ideas in this period must acknowledge the importance of the material forms of texts in questions of reception and distribution. The acquisition of large-format printed works by Chetham's Library through Littlebury emphasises the trustees' commitment to the provision of books in Manchester in perpetuity, while the conditions of reception of the material forms of knowledge, particularly in scientific periodical texts, shows the need to revise the historical understanding of how

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<sup>4</sup> A further international dimension is of course added by translation, as is apparent from the ongoing *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English 1660–1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

early modern science was distributed and received, and in how ideas were reinforced (or not) by the use of scientific instruments.

*Towards a History of the Second Hand Book Trade*

Alongside his warning against interdisciplinarity run riot, Robert Darnton was the intellectual progenitor of the 'communications circuit' for the study of the history of the book. The Library's acquisitions demonstrate the need to reconfigure the view of the early modern British and Continental book trade, particularly with respect to the second-hand book trade. The centrifugal approach to 'books as history' considered in this conclusion does not simply challenge Darnton's notion of the communications circuit, or add another link to the model. It shows something much more sophisticated, flexible and fluid. By Darnton's admission, the model was rooted in the peculiarities of the eighteenth-century book trade, and marked the beginning, rather than the end, of efforts to model the trade. The incorporation of the second-hand trade into the communications circuit does not just nuance the study of the history of the book. It calls historians to radically rethink how printed knowledge was produced, distributed, received and then redistributed. The evidence uncovered by the acquisition of Chetham's Library is at its most exciting when it relates to how such books were acquired: the book trade, in all its different forms, as practised between 1655 and 1700.

The first step in such a remodelling is to identify that knowledge in the twenty-first century has a very short shelf life. In the natural and physical sciences, the fruits of academic research can reasonably expect to be obsolete within a few months or, at most, a year of publication. Not so in the early modern period. In her recent new book on information overload, Ann Blair notes that a Latin reference book published in 1565 was given as a New Year's Gift in 1666.<sup>5</sup> At Chetham's Library in the seventeenth century, works that were 150 or 200 years old were essential reading for any self-respecting scholar; scientists and doctors read the works of Vesalius and Paracelsus as textbooks until well into the seventeenth century. Scholars and students had to rely on the second-hand book trade in order to procure the knowledge they needed. As this book has considered throughout, even a cursory look

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<sup>5</sup> Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 233.

at any number of individual collectors and institutional libraries in the sixteenth and seventeenth century testifies to the centrality of second-hand books and therefore the importance of the second-hand book trade to their acquisition.

The second step is to recognise that the seventeenth-century and twenty-first century trade in books and ideas are more similar than students of either might initially admit. The trade in new books, although dominated by the official monopoly of the Stationers' Company in the seventeenth century and by the *de facto* monopolies of Waterstone's and Amazon in the twenty-first century, was and is only a small element of the much wider trade in books taking place in every town and city in the country. For individuals and institutions, it is the second-hand trade that is the greater source of printed books. However, just as it did in the seventeenth century, how second-hand books are purchased has changed in recent times. The number of explicitly focused second-hand bookshops has declined enormously in recent years. As a city, Manchester no longer sustains a second-hand travel bookshop or an antiquarian bookseller, but the shelves of its charity shops (most notably Oxfam) are full to the rafters with second-hand texts. In 2010, for example, Oxfam launched a massive donation drive asking for 800,000 books in three weeks. The cult of the 'clean book' leads modern buyers to privilege new books over old ones, but the second-hand trade is very much the senior partner in the consumption of the printed word.

The restructuring of our mental models of the historical second-hand book trade and is also possible as the weight of evidence and information about ownership, textual distribution and reception grows. In effect, books can also start to make history: provenance research, through marginal annotations, inscriptions, bookplates, bindings and manuscript pastedowns, allows historians to reconstruct the names, identities and reading practices of previous readers and owners.<sup>6</sup> Electronic catalogues, including the one provided by Chetham's Library of the books it acquired between 1655 and 1700, as well as printed catalogues of individual and institutional collections, allow historians to compare and contrast acquisitions, prices, suppliers and copy-specific detail that makes research into the history of the second-hand

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<sup>6</sup> David Pearson, *Books as History: The Importance of Books Beyond Their Texts* (London & New Castle: British Library & Oak Knoll, 2008), p. 6.

book trade far easier. Nor should historians fear that processes of digitisation and electronic readers make Special Collections Departments obsolete. The future (and history) of books will not be entirely digital. Certainly, those interested in the text of early printed books will be able to use electronic surrogate texts through EEBO and ECCO, and previously hard-to-find material will be made publicly available. However, book historians and those interested in readership, ownership and the materiality of texts will have all the more cause to use Special Collections as they focus their attentions on physical marks of use, ownership and distribution. Book historians will always need to consult the original texts and copies in order to found out the history within them. As Simon Garfield notes wryly, looking at a digital surrogate of the Gutenberg Bible does it no justice: 'The first ever book printed in Europe – heavy, luxurious, pungent and creaky – does not read particularly well on an iPhone.'<sup>7</sup> As this book has done, piecing together patterns of ownership and acquisition through second-hand books will add ever more detail to our understanding of intellectual reception and distribution in the early modern period.

### *Preservation for the Future*

In the early modern period, books were not simply read. They were used in a variety of sophisticated and individual ways for immediate, short-term and long-term purposes. Readers acknowledged that fact in the axiom 'Usus Libri, non lectio prudentes facit', and as Justus Lipsius noted in the preface to his edition of Tacitus, one historical text yielded a variety of messages at the same time.<sup>8</sup> Many of the challenges that faced early modern readers and collectors were very similar to the problems that now face archivists, librarians, historians and students. Information overload, in a variety of different media – print, newspapers, ebooks, online, emails, tweets, Facebook messages, Wikipedia and instant messaging – presents problems as serious to us as it did to the students discussed in Ann Blair's article at the beginning of this book. Humphrey Chetham's foundation of a library was therefore an exercise in helping students to overcome the growing feeling of

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<sup>7</sup> Simon Garfield, *Just My Type: A Book about Fonts* (London: Profile Books, 2010), p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Preface to Tacitus, *Opera Quae Exstant* (Antuerpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1627).

information overload that developed with the printing press; it was also a 'future-oriented' preservation of the best knowledge in the best editions available.

The encouragement of learning and dealing with a sense of information overload defined the acquisition of books by Chetham's Library from its inception in 1655. Theological, classical and scientific texts that served the immediate needs of scholars preceded the acquisition of more weighty titles that did not necessarily have an immediate audience in the town. In effect, the Library made itself useful for readers like Henry Newcome, John Chorlton, James Clegg and the doctor Thomas Minshull, as they read works relevant to their personal and professional lives. Chetham's bequest, as interpreted by his trustees, became a tool for scholars to employ in their preaching, writing and professional practice. Concordances and harmonies came before Bibles, precisely because concordances were of more immediate use to the divines of Manchester, who were already have been in possession of Bibles for their work. Usefulness as a tool extended into the preservation of texts and instruments for the archive; this perspective of perpetuity was ultimately vindicated, even when a book arrived as a result of the vagaries of the book trade. The Library's copy of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* 'passed on' by Samuel Smith three years after publication, only came into its own much later, when John Dalton came to Manchester to undertake his scientific research. Greek Orthodox liturgical works, although not of immediate interest in 1674, proved most useful as a source of reference during the non-juror crisis of the late 1680s: the Library certainly had readers with non-juror sympathies, as Nicholas Cronkshaw's donation of *Bishop Overall's Convocation-Book* showed.<sup>9</sup> Usefulness was, however, a flexible concept. The patterns of acquisition in theology, including works of Arminian and Socinian scholarship, and in historical titles, reflected a hesitance to engage with the wounds of the recent past. Usefulness therefore also defined when previously problematic works of Arminian and Socinian thought were appropriate for acquisition in the defence of episcopacy and Anglican identity. These issues add further dimensions to the study of intellectual reception in the early modern period, as the acquisition of books and other items illustrates, and as future studies of libraries and book collectors will have to acknowledge.

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<sup>9</sup> John Overall, *Bishop Overall's Convocation-Book* (London: Walter Kettilby, 1690).

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Thomas James, Bodley's Librarian in Oxford, had turned the Bodleian Library into what Anthony Grafton calls 'a massive collaborative research enterprise' in the collation of the manuscripts of the Church Fathers.<sup>10</sup> John Dee's library at Mortlake was the site of a great deal of scholarly dialogue between scholars, politicians and students.<sup>11</sup> While Manchester was not immediately the centre of learning, dialogue and debate the acquisitions might first suggest, Humphrey Chetham's provision of a universality of learning in the seventeenth century was really fulfilled in the way anticipated by James and Dee two generations after the foundation of the Library in the eighteenth century as a resource for collaborative researchers, scholars and polymaths, including John Byrom and Robert Thyer (the latter was Chetham's Librarian, 1732–1763) and later on, John Dalton. Byrom, Thyer and others had helped to turn Chetham's Library into a northern quasi-outpost of the Royal Society, taking advantage of the wide range of books on language, philosophy, theology and science to create an environment for students and scholars alike to debate, discuss and research.

A recent article by Elizabeth Yale in the journal *Book History* identified how early modern naturalists and natural philosophers, including Elias Ashmole, John Aubrey, Samuel Hartlib and Robert Plot, 'invented the archive' in the collection, storage and organisation of papers and manuscripts relating to scientific research and virtuosic endeavour.<sup>12</sup> Yale's argument pertains to scientific thinking and research, but the lessons she draws can in fact be extended (and nuanced) using the evidence of Chetham's Library. In some ways, the approach taken by the Library challenges Yale's claim that 'Early moderns did not regard the physical medium, the paper itself, as having an intrinsic historical value'.<sup>13</sup> As demonstrated in this book, Humphrey Chetham and his trustees had a rigorously future-oriented approach to the preservation of knowledge, although there was ambivalence about providing texts that alluded to, or brought up, the problems of the recent past in history or theology. Unlike the naturalists Yale studies, the trustees of

<sup>10</sup> Anthony Grafton, *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 112.

<sup>11</sup> William H. Sherman, *John Dee*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Yale, 'With Slips and Scraps: How Early Modern Naturalists Invented the Archive', p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Yale, 'With Slips and Scraps', p. 23.

Chetham's Library regarded the printed text chained to the wall as the most important mode of textual preservation, perhaps because of the depredations of Civil War and previous failed efforts to create libraries in Manchester. Chetham's Library purchased only one manuscript in forty-five years, although others sought to preserve their own manuscripts by donating them to the institution. For Chetham's trustees, value inhered in the information expressed in printed form because it would survive for many years to come. Unlike pieces of manuscript, books in chained libraries did not end up in pie cases or burned to keep fires going. The knowledge provided in the printed books acquired by Chetham's Library was a source of information for use over a long period of time. This employment extended much further than the scientific endeavour characterised by Yale; Chetham's Library stood at one end of a continuum of attitudes towards print, manuscript and everything in between. The evidence of Chetham's Library adds to the great amount of work still to be done in piecing together the attitudes towards, and relationships between manuscripts, correspondence, printed texts and libraries in all fields of intellectual endeavour in the early modern period.

Books, their material forms and libraries mattered in the English provinces in the later seventeenth century. Chetham was keenly aware of the value of preserving knowledge in a repository in Manchester for future scholars – not necessarily for the sake of recording what used to be thought, but because the texts would continue to be useful for future generations. While Chetham and the trustees expressed no real interest in the historical value of the texts acquired by the Library, for historians of the book the acquisitions are triply useful. In their bindings, annotations and other marks of readership, they provide evidence of books' history before they reached the Library; in the Accessions Register, historians have access to a body of data that provides information about cultures of knowledge, its acquisition and distribution; in diary entries, records and correspondence, there resides evidence of how the books were used and read on a daily basis in a nascent republic of letters. Chetham's Library offered a universality of knowledge that could be used and deployed by students and scholars alike. It can now add to that growing understanding of the provision of libraries, archives and museums for public benefit in the early modern period, a testament to Humphrey Chetham's wider intellectual, political and social ambitions in northern England after the Civil War.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Walter Savage Landor noted that 'nothing is pleasanter than exploring a library'.<sup>14</sup> Landor's interest in libraries was perhaps more antiquarian than historical. The centrifugal approach deployed in this book has placed Chetham's Library in the context of a number of debates about textual reception in the later seventeenth century. The Introduction suggested that books and their history were undeniably slippery areas of study, and any approach to them has to acknowledge that fact. As the book draws to a close, how to describe the 'potencie of life' represented by the books acquired by Chetham's Library still remains to some extent problematic. To use the philosophical terminology of the French thinkers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, books are *rhizomatic*; they are a 'multiplicity', that is, intellectual structures in which each aspect is necessarily connected to each other aspect, and in which no location may become a beginning or an end, but in which the whole is heterogeneous.<sup>15</sup> The books acquired by Chetham's Library represent such a 'multiplicity', and this book has explored them in such a way as to unpick the factors at work and to contribute to the large number of scholarly debates in the field. This book, which has used the acquisition of books by Chetham's Library, and its accompanying printed and electronic catalogues, provides a wealth of information and resources for further studies in the field of textual distribution and reception in the early modern period.

Although Samuel Johnson, the son of a bookseller from Lichfield,<sup>16</sup> was a man of the eighteenth century, his reading habits and his attitude towards books provide a neat point of comparison with Chetham's Library:

He read, as he did most things, violently; he had a particular facility for seizing at once what was valuable in any book, without submitting to the labour of perusing it from the beginning to the end. He got at the substance of the book directly, tearing out the heart of it. At times he kept a book in readiness for when he should finish the other, resembling a dog who holds a bone in his paws in reserve, while he eats something else which has been thrown to him.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Walter Savage Landor, 'Pericles and Aspasia', in *The Works of Walter Savage Landor* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1853), Vol. 2, p. 391.

<sup>15</sup> 'Rhizome' in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Continuum, 2004), Vol. 2, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> J. D. Fleeman, 'Michael Johnson, The "Lichfield Librarian"', *Publishing History*, 39 (1996), pp. 23–44.

<sup>17</sup> James Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 34.



While the violent element of Johnson's readership is not pertinent for Chetham's Library, the rest of the quotation summarises the acquisitions policy for the Library throughout the seventeenth century. The trustees acquired books for the purposes of use and reference rather than extensive reading, as the patterns of acquisition demonstrated. Moreover, just as Johnson was intellectually voracious and eager to take in as much as he could, Chetham's Library acquired and held books it neither wanted nor needed immediately in order to have the use of such a book in the future, to encourage learning and scholarship in Manchester and as part of Humphrey Chetham's personal desire to heal and settle the wounds of the Civil War. In that respect, John Worthington's comment on the Library as 'better than any library in Cambridge' does justice to the extraordinary range of books and other materials acquired by Chetham's Library between 1655 and 1700.

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### *Note on referring to Library catalogue for acquisitions 1655–1700*

This bibliography does not provide a list of the titles cited in the book that were acquired by Chetham's Library between 1655 and 1700, and which were recorded in the Library's Accessions Register. While short titles and bibliographical details of these books are provided in the footnotes, readers are advised that the full list of the seventeenth-century acquisitions (as a transcript of the Accessions Register) is available in one of two ways. A list, including prices and bibliographical details, is provided as a printed volume held at Chetham's Library, which can be consulted on request. The records can also be consulted using a special search code, entitled 'chetacq', within the Library Online Public Access Catalogue on the Library website, [www.chethams.org.uk/opac.htm](http://www.chethams.org.uk/opac.htm). A dedicated webpage, [www.chethams.org.uk/chetacq.htm](http://www.chethams.org.uk/chetacq.htm) is provided to explain how to use it and further search terms.

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